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ANTIQUITY.



ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
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VOLUME LIX.

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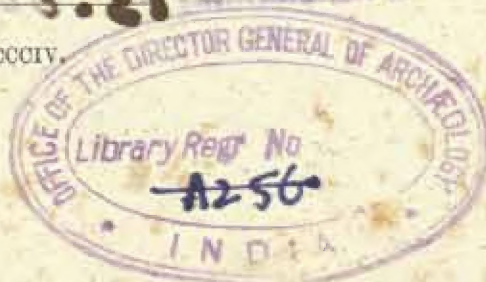
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Some Chancery Proceedings of the Fifteenth Century.* By C. TRICE MARTIN,
Esq., B.A., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

Read 28th January, 1904.

IN the course of my official duties, I have lately been examining the Chancery bills of the fifteenth century. The number of these documents preserved in the Public Record Office is very great. Masses of them have never been seen by the public since they were presented. Now they are being cleaned and arranged, so as to make them accessible to students, and catalogues of them are being printed.

29 Apart from their legal importance, they will be found to contain information of great value to those interested in the history of families or the history of places. As the subject of a large proportion is the descent of land, they often contain two or three steps of a pedigree, and the names of the houses and fields which are in dispute.

These, however, are not the points which I wish to bring before you to-night but rather to show what light these documents throw on the life of Englishmen several centuries ago.

The bills are petitions to the Chancellor, and may roughly be divided into the following classes:

(1.) Petitions from a person under arrest, who begs for a writ of *corpus cum causa* directed to the person who has him in custody, to bring him before the Chancellor and explain the reason of his detention, worded as follows, to give one instance:

Wherefore hit wold plesse your lordship to send unto the Mayre and Sheriff of the sayd Cite a *corpus cum causa*, commaunding them to bryng upp tofore you in the Chauncerie the body of your besecher and the cause of his arrest, there to be examined and rewled according to conscience.

(2.) Petitions for the removal into Chancery of an action brought against complainant in another court, because the complainant is unable to defend himself in accordance with the rules of the court, or where he does not expect justice to be done.

(3.) Petitions for a writ of *subpoena* to be directed to a person who is injuring complainant in a manner for which he has no redress at common law, or because he is too poor to go to law.

Besides specimens of these classes, I have collected a few merely because of their reference to manners and customs.

To return to the first class mentioned, the bill asking for a *corpus cum causa*, the kind of arrest most frequently complained of was that made in the City of London under an alderman's commandment, which, as appears by the following documents, prevented the allowance of bail to the person arrested :

ALDERMAN'S COMMANDMENT.

Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 66, No. 370.

Mekely besecheth youre gode and graciose lordshipp youre pore oratour Thomas Prowce of London, carpenter, that whereas one John Lambard of London, mercer, made a covenaut with youre besecher for a. c. marcs to make to the seid John a house and a chapell, after whiche covenaut so made youre besecher competently and sufficiently made the seid house and chapell accordyng to his seid covenaut; it is so graciose lord that youre besecher hathe ben with the seid John for to have his money or sum parte therof. And furthwith the seid John, of verrey malice and evell will and withoute cause, and to that entente for to defraude youre besecher of his seid duete, caused youre besecher to be arrested upon an accion of accompte of .lx. *ll.*, wher in trowth youre besecher never receyved of hym ner of none other to his use the value of .xij. *d.* And furthermore the seid John of his seid malice hath caused an alderman to ley his commaundement uppon hym, so that youre besecher can not fynde no maner of suerte nor goo under no maner of bayle. And so he is kept in prison and in grete duresse of irenes ayenst all right and good conscience, to his uttermost undoyng without youre lordshipp be shewyd unto hym in this behalfe.

Bundle 64, No. 706.

Lamentably sheweth unto your gode and gracious lordship your pore and sorowfull oratrice Johanne Blaunder, senglewoman, that whereas now of late sum il disposed persone or persones unto her as yet unknowen, not dreding God nor the jubardy of their soules, but of ther malicious disposicion entending the distruecion of your seid pore besecher, have without

any ground or cause resonable caused an alderman to ley his commandement upon her. And therupon she was arrest and commytted to ward, wher she is yet and long hath be in right grete peyne and penury, as God knoweth, and none other accion nor mater ageyn her but oonly the seid aldermannys commaundment leyd upon her by the menes of her adversaries, as is aforesaid; to thentent that she shuld not be taken to bayle, but kept still in prisone to her utter undoyng in this world, without your gracious lordship be the more hastily shewed unto her therin.

ALDERMAN'S COMMANDMENT. WAGER OF LAW.

Bundle 64, No. 711.

Sheweth unto your goode and gracioux lordship Thomas Cape of London, iremonger, that where he, late beyng at Cales, desired oon Richard Olyver of London, than beyng in the same toun of Cales, to have lent unto your said oratour .viij. *li.*, the whiche he graunted unto your said oratour and caused hym to make a bill obligatory concernyng the same somme of .viij. *li.* It was so, gracioux lord, whan the seid bill was made and sealed, the seid Richard wolde not lend to your said oratour the seid .viij. *li.* onlesse that a marchaunt of the Staple were bounde with hym for the seid duety. Wheruppon, in so much as your said oratour cowde have no such suyrtye, therfor the seid Richard and your said oratour cancelled the seid bill. And this notwithstanding, the seid Richard nowe late hathe comensed a feyned accion of dette of .viij. *li.* ayenst your said oratour before the Mair and Aldermen of London, and thereuppon caused your said oratour to be arrested. And according to the custome of London your said oratour came to have waged his lawe, and brought .xij. sufficient men, dwellers within London, whiche wolde have deposed uppon a boke in the seid Court that the seid bill was in fourme forseid cancelled, and no peny lent unto your said oratour by the said Richard. Whiche proves for the instaunt labour and meanes that the seid Richard had made in the seid Court, myght in no wyse be admytted to depose as is aforesaid. And also, gracionx lord, the seid Richard entending the utter inpoverysshing of your said oratour, hathe caused an Aldermannys commaundment to be layde uppon hym. And so lyeth in prison without maynprise, howe be it he hathe offred sufficient suyrtye to aunswer unto the said accion.

The next bill gives another example of the refusal of wager of law, not arbitrary, as the refusal appears to have been in the preceding case, but in accordance with a custom of the City of London.

WAGER OF LAW. ATTAINT OF JURY.

Bundle 66, No. 241.

Mekely besecheth your gode and gracyous lordship your pore oratour John Gould, that wheras one John Chamberleyn hath affermed an accyon of dette ayenst your seide oratour

of .xlvi. li. in the Shirrefs Courte of London, surmysyng by the same accyon that your seid oratour shuld have bought of the seid John Chamberleyn in Smythfeld, as moche malte as shuld drawe unto the seid summe of .xlvi. li., where in dede your seid oratour never bought no such malte of the seid John Chamberleyn in Smythfeld nor in none other place, as evydently shalbe proved afore your lordship; yet that notwithstanding, in so moche as your seid oratour may not wage his lawe in the seid accyon because of an ordinaunce and a statute had and used within the same cyte that no man that is impleted in any accyon of dette within the same cyte, yf the dette be surmysed to growe by the bying or sell yng of any maner of vetayll, shall not wage his lawe in that accyon, the seid John hath caused an enquest of the comen jurours of the same cyte to be impanelled to passe in the seid accyon; whiche have expressly seid withoute that your said oratoure will entrete the seid John Chamberleyn and agre with hym at his wyll, they wyll passe ayenst your seid oratoure in the same accyon ayenst all right and gode conseyence. In which case your seid oratour hath no remedy by the course of the comen lawe, forasmoche as uppon untrue verydyte yoven in London ther lieth none atteynt.

Another frequent cause of complaint was the arbitrary conduct of the officials of the court of the Marshalsea, and the illegal use of the court by the public. The court was situated in Southwark, and was intended for trying pleas between members of the king's Household by the steward and marshal of the Household; but the judges and their deputies had come to consider this restriction as merely formal, and were accustomed to enter in their records as a matter of course that both parties to a suit belonged to the Household, without any evidence, and also to refuse to defendants their lawful challenge that they, or the plaintiffs, did not belong to the Household.

An Act was passed in 1436^a to remedy this abuse; and previously, in 1400, the court's extortion had been checked by an Act regulating the fees.^b

Here are a couple of bills, out of many others, complaining of the action of this court:

THE MARSHALSEA.

Bundle 66, No. 217.

Mekely bisechith your goode and gracious lordship your humble supplyaunt Maister William Umfrey, studeaunt in the Universite of Oxenford, that where as he nowe late beyng in the cite of London, went from thens to Saint Georges Chirche in Suthwerk theire to speke with a kynnysman of his; and as he was comyng from thens into London thorough

^a 15 H. VI. c. 1. Statutes, ii. 295.

^b 2 H. IV. c. 23. Statutes, ii. 130.

Suthwerk bytwene .viiiij. and .ix. on the klokke in the evenyng,* one Robert Cullyng, one of the kepers of the Marchalsie there, mette with youre saide besecher and quarelled with hym, saiyng that it was noo season for a man of his ordre to walke so late. And thenne and there, of his malicions disposicion without any other cause or auctorite, arrest your said suppliaunt for a suspicious man and put hym into the prison of the Marchalsie; and there without any other cause kepith hym in prison. And howe beit that youre said suppliaunt oft tymes hath offeryd to fynde sufficient suerte to answer there to suche maters as shalbe object agayn hym, yet that notwithstanding, the said Robert wil not suffre hym to be laten to baile on lasse than he will make, seale and delyvere unto the said Robert a generall acquytaunce; and over that be bounde unto hym in an obligacion of an .c. li. that he shall nevyr trouble, sue nor vexe the said Robert for the said arest, to the gret trouble and grevous vexacion of your said suppliaunt, without any cause, to his utter undoyng without the gracious help and socour of your said lordship. Wherefor please it your said lordship to consider the premisses and to graunt a writ of *corpus cum causa* to be direct to the Steward and Marchall of the said Marchalsie to have the body of your said suppliauntt, with the cause of his arest, affore your said lordship in the Chauncery of our Soverain lord the Kyng at a certain day by your lordship to be lymetted, there to be examyned and ruled as conscience shall requyre, for the love of God and in wey of Charite.

Bundle 64, No. 873.

Lamentably sheweth and complayneth unto your good and gracious lordship your humble oratour William Bowreman of London, draper, that where as oon Thomas Cok, preest, of late was sued by your said oratour in the Citee of London for suche duete as the said Thomas owed unto your said oratour; the same Thomas entendyng to vexe untruly your seide suppliaunt, caused a man to come to your suppliaunt withyn London, desiryng the same your suppliaunt to come to a kynneswoman of his to Shordyche, which was seke. Wherupon your said suppliaunt so did. And when he cam to Shordyche to the seid womans hous, he founde the said Thomas Cok there; and immediatly therupon cam in officers of the Marchalsye, and there arrested your suppliant in the name of John Forster, Marchall of the Marchalsye, upon an accion of trespas. Upon the whiche arrest the said officers led your suppliant into Suthwerk, and there brought him to the said John Forster. Wherupon your suppliaunt sent into London for his neighbourghs, whiche took him to bayll till the next court. After the whiche your seid oratour on Thursday last passed, cam into Suthwerk to speke with the said John Forster to understonde the cause of his arrest. And immediatly upon his comyng, he was newly arrested upon an accion of trespas atte sute of oon Piers Hous, gentleman. Upon the whiche arrest your seid suppliaunt sent into London for his neighbourghs to take hym to bayll, as he did before. And when his neighbourghs cam, the said Marchall wolde not take them, but said that he shuld fynde surete men of Suthwerk, the

* An endorsement shows that the bill was received on 5th May, so that it must have been nearly dark.

of .xlvi. li. in the Shirrefs Courte of London, surmysyng by the same accyon that your seid oratour shuld have bought of the seid John Chamberleyn in Smythfeld, as moche malte as shuld drawe unto the seid summe of .xlvi. li., where in dede your seid oratour never bought no such malte of the seid John Chamberleyn in Smythfeld nor in none other place, as evydently shalbe proved afore your lordship; yet that notwithstanding, in so moche as your seid oratour may not wage his lawe in the seid accyon because of an ordinaunce and a statute had and used within the same cyte that no man that is impleted in any accyon of dette within the same cyte, yf the dette be surmysed to growe by the bying or sellyng of any maner of vetayll, shall not wage his lawe in that accyon, the seid John hath caused an enquest of the commen jurours of the same cyte to be impanelled to passe in the seid accyon; whiche have expressly seid withoute that your said oratoure will entrete the seid John Chamberleyn and agre with hym at his wyll, they wyll passe ayenst your seid oratoure in the same accyon ayenst all right and gode conseyence. In which case your seid oratour hath no remedy by the course of the comen lawe, forasmoche as uppon untrue verydyte yoven in London ther lieth none atteynt.

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Suthwerk bytwene .viij. and .ix. on the klokke in the evenyng,^a one Robert Cullyng, one of the keepers of the Marchalsie there, mette with youre saide besecher and quarelled with hym, saiyng that it was noo season for a man of his ordre to walke so late. And thenne and there, of his malicious disposicion without any other cause or auctorite, arrest your said suppliant for a suspicious man and put hym into the prison of the Marchalsie; and there without any other cause kepith hym in prison. And howe beit that youre said suppliant oft tymes hath offeryd to fynde sufficient suerte to answers there to suche maters as shalbe object agayn hym, yet that notwithstanding, the said Robert wil not suffre hym to be laten to baile on lasse than he will make, seale and delyvere unto the said Robert a generall acquytaunce; and over that be bounde unto hym in an obligacion of an .c. li. that he shall nevyr trouble, sue nor vexe the said Robert for the said arest, to the gret trouble and grevous vexacion of your said suppliant, without any cause, to his utter undoyng without the gracious help and socour of your said lordship. Wherefor please it your said lordship to consider the premisses and to graunt a writ of *corpus cum causa* to be direct to the Steward and Marchall of the said Marchalsie to have the body of your said suppliant, with the cause of his arest, affore your said lordship in the Chauncery of our Soverain lord the Kyng at a certain day by your lordship to be lymetted, there to be examyned and ruled as conscience shall requyre, for the love of God and in wey of Charite.

Bundle 64, No. 873.

Lamentably sheweth and complayneth unto your good and gracious lordship your humble oratour William Bowreman of London, draper, that where as oon Thomas Cok, preest, of late was sued by your said oratour in the Citee of London for suche duete as the said Thomas owed unto your said oratour; the same Thomas entending to vexe untruly your seide suppliant, caused a man to come to your suppliant withyn London, desiryng the same your suppliant to come to a kynneswoman of his to Shordyche, which was seke. Wherupon your said suppliant so did. And when he cam to Shordyche to the seid womans hous, he founde the said Thomas Cok there; and immediatly therupon cam in officers of the Marchalsye, and there arrested your suppliant in the name of John Forster, Marchall of the Marchalsye, upon an accion of trespas. Upon the whiche arrest the said officers led your suppliant into Suthwerk, and there brought him to the said John Forster. Wherupon your suppliant sent into London for his neighbourghs, whiche took him to bayll till the next court. After the whiche your seid oratour on Thursday last passed, cam into Suthwerk to speke with the said John Forster to understonde the cause of his arrest. And immediatly upon his comyng, he was newly arrested upon an accion of trespas atte sute of oon Piers Hous, gentleman. Upon the whiche arrest your seid suppliant sent into London for his neighbourghs to take hym to bayll, as he did before. And when his neighbourghs cam, the said Marchall wolde not take them, but said that he shuld fynde surete men of Suthwerk, the

^a An endorsement shows that the bill was received on 5th May, so that it must have been nearly dark.

whiche your said suppliant coude not do. And how be it that every day sithen your suppliant hath labored by his lerned counseill with his wyf and his neighbourghs to be taken to bayll, he in no wyse can have any graunte so to be, of lesse than he wolle make a thurgh ende with the said Piers Hous and pay hym .xx. marcs afore Cristmas day next commyng, fyndyng suerte that to do withynne Suthwerk, the whiche your suppliant can not do. Wherefore your suppliaunt is thrette that he shall there abyde all this Cristmas and have as many irons leyde upon hym as he may bere. Of the whiche mater your suppliant hath no remedye, but is likely to be undoon without your good and gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf.

The jurisdiction of local officials was often exercised in the most arbitrary manner, and the next five bills are complaints of the unjust conduct of such persons.

MALDON.

Bundle 64, No. 905.

Mekely beseches youre good and gracious lordshyp youre poure and continuall oratoure Robbard Borogh of Maldon within the Counte of Essex, skynner, that whereas oon Richard Woode and Richarde Cessyngham of the same towne Bailes, withoute eny cause lawfull but only of very pure malice, kepe and reteyne youre seide Besecher in grete duraunce of imprisonment within the seide towne of Maldon, by cause youre seide suppliaunt hath sewed certeyn persons of the seide toune of Maldon here thys terme at the Comyn Law. The wiche seide Bailes, of ther grete simpilnes, usurpe and here clayme a previlage within the seide toune to kepe all soche persons in prison by the space of .xl. dayes that labour or attempte to sewe eny other dwellyng within the towne of Maldon; the wiche was never seyne by fore thys tyme within that towne, but that they shold do and obeie all maner of wryttys and commaundementes accordyng the Kynges lawes, the wiche they uttury have refused and yet refuse, to the grete undoyng of your seide suppliaunt.

YORK.

Bundle 64, No. 864.

Mekely besechith youre gracious lordship youre pore and contynuell oratour Richard Kyrkeby, that where as he by the space of a yere now past of malice was arrested and putt in the Gayle of Seynt Petyrs att the Mynster gate of the Citte of Yorke, and there hath leyn evere sythen withoute eny cause shewed to hym or eny proces of accion made ayenst hym; and so he is kepte styll in prison, howe be it that he hath often tymes offered goode and sufficient suertie to be putt to bayle and mayineprise. Wherefore please it your goode and gracious lordship, the premyssees tenderly considered, to graunte a *corpus cum causa* to be directed unto the keper of the Gayle att the gate of the seyde Mynstre, commaundyng hym by the same to bryng up the body and cause afore the kyng in his Chauncerie att a certeyn day by your gracious lordship to be lymited.

GUILDFORD.

Bundle 64, No. 1066.

Mekely besecheth your good and gracious lordship your pore oratour John Thomas, netmaker, of thage of .lx. yeres and more, that where as he before Wytsonyde last past, was goyng into Sussex to bere certeyn nettes to a gentilman called Cressy, which he had made for hym, was by the meanes of oon John Chamberleyn, of pure malice and evell will arrested and brought to the gaole of Gyldford. And the seid John Chamberleyn to thentent to kepe your seid pore oratour there still in pryson, wrongfully and withoute any maner cause lawfull, caused to be leyde upon your seid pore oratour suspecion of felony, by reason wherof your seid oratour was kept there in the pytte of the same gaole, where he myght neyther se hand ne fete, sith Wytsonyde forseid tyll the Sessions nowe late holden at Croydon; at whiche Sessions proclamacion was there made that if there were any man that coude or wold ought sey ayenst your seid pore oratour, he shuld there be herd. And so noo man, as they ne coude of right, there saying anything ayenst your seid pore oratour, the same your oratour was there quytte. And the seid John Chamberleyn, seying that, yet not cessyng of his malicious disposicion, but entendyng utterly the destruccion of your seid pore oratour, and to cause hym to dye in prison, caused oon John Skynner to take an accion of trespas ayenst your seid pore oratour declaryng damages to .xl. li., where in trouth he never trespassed unto hym; to which feyned accion your seid pore oratour is not of power, ne can fynde suertee though he shuld dye in pryson, and so by reson therof was remytted unto the seid pryson of Gyldford, and there yet remayneth. Howe be it the seid John Skynner hath sith offred that if your seid pore oratour wyll gyf hym .xx. s., he shall be delyvered and goo at large; the which .xx. s. nor yet .ij. s. your seid pore oratour is not of power to pay, and soo he is like to dye in pryson withoute your most gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf.

ILCHESTER.

Bundle 64, No. 928.

Mekely besechith youre goode and graceous lordship youre pore and contynuell oratour Richard Richardis, that where one John Grey, by coveyn betwixt hym and the keper of the jayle of the town of Yevechestre, hath imprisoned your seid oratour without any writte, warant or any other lawefull meanes of the lawe, and ther kepith hym still in prison and will not tell hym the cause why ne where fore. But the seid John Grey tristith to wery him in the seid prison unto the tyme that he had made a relese unto the seid John of a certain tenement to the value of .iij. s. adjoynyng to the londes of the seid John, which hath ben in debate bytwixt your seid oratour and hym. And so he thenkith to kepe hym in the seid prison tyll that he had his entent, which were contrarie to all gode feith and conscience.

RANSOM FROM THE FRENCH.

Bundle 66, No. 365.

Mekely besecheth your gracious lordship your contynual oratour Thomas Esthawe, that where one Edward Spencer of Hunstanton in the counte of Norfolk, now of late tyme was take owte of his howse by Frenchemen upon the see coost, and couveied from thens into the see, and ther by them kepte into the tyme that he had graunted un to them for his fynauce on that partie an .c. li. and more. For the cheisaunce of whiche fynauce the same Edward, by meanes of John Spencer, son to the same Edward, caused, desired and prayed your seid besecher to make shifte and cheisaunce for .l. li. of the seid .c. li. and the same Edward shuld truly therof your seid besecher recompence and be saved harmeles. And for as moche as your seid besecher, havyng gret pety and beyng sory of the gret losse, and also for good wille and love that he had to the same Edward, he at the desire, request and prayer of the same Edward by the meane of the seid John Spencer his sone, whent with the same John to one Edmond Pepyr than dwellyng in Lynn in the same counte of Norfolk, and ther cheivyst and borowyd of hym for the helpe and relief of the seid Edward .l. li. of mony. And therfore at the request of the same John was bounde with the seid John in an .c. li. to the seid Edmond, whiche obligacion was redde onto the same Thomas that the seid obligacion conteyned this condicioin folowyng, that is to say;—that if the seid Thomas and John pay not to the same Edmond Pepyr .l. li. by the fest of Cristmesse last passed, that thanne the seid obligacion of an .c. li. shuld be good and effectual, and ellys it shuld be voyde. Your seid besecher at that tyme of the makyng of the obligacion, beyng a lay man and not lettered, supposyng and trustyng that the same obligacion had be indosed with the seid condicion, where it was not indosyd with any condicion, sealed the same dede, trustyng also verely that the seid Edward and the seid John Spencer his sone wolde have savyd your seid besecher harmeles of the seid .l. li. Ther hath the seid Edward and his seid sone by covyn, sotylte and ymaginacion had atwene them and the seid Edmond Pepyr, caused and steryd your seid besecher to cum to the seid towne of Lynn with a gose and a capon to dyne with the same Edmond Pepyr, and to intrete hym to have lenger days of payment of the seid .l. li.; but the verry intent and covyn had bytwene the seid Edward and Edmond was that your seid besecher, as sone as he cam to Lynn, shuld be arested for the seid dute. And therupon your seid besecher, havyng no knowlage of the seid covyn, crafte and ymaginacion, cam to Lynn aforeseid to thentent to have intreted the seid Edmond Pepyr for lenger days of payment for the seid .l. li. And the same Edmond at the same tyme caused your seid besecher to be arested in the seid towne of Lynn by a pleynt for the seid .c. li. at the sute of the same Edmond, intendyng verly to have recovery ageyn your besecher of the seid .c. li., whereas the verry dute is but .l. li. And if your seid besecher shulde plede any ple in voydance of the seid obligacion by the mater afore alleged or any other wyse, the seid Edmond is of so gret myght, poer and so gretly favord and acqneynted withinne the seid towne of Lynn, that what so ever ple were pleded for your seid besecher in this seid mater,

it wer like to be tryed ageyns hym withowte any consideracion of trowthe to be had in that behalve; whiche were and uttyr distruccion and undoyng of your seid besecher. Please it your good and gracious lordship to considere the premisses, and how that by crafte, covyn and sotyl ymaginacion had betwene the seid Edward Spencer, for whom your said besecher was bounde, and the seid Edmond Pepyr, to whom the seid obligacion was made, by the whiche thei bothe intended to the uttyr distruccion of your seid besecher, to graunte a wrytte of *corpus cum causa* to be directed to the baylyve of the right reverend fadyr in God, James byssshop of Norwiche, of his towne of Lynn, and to Richard Herde keeper of the jayle of the same byssshop there, commaundyng them by the same wrytte to have afore our Soverayn lorde the Kyng in his Chauncery at a certeyn day by your lordship to be lymytted, as well the body of your seid besecher as the cause of his arestyng and detencion in pryson, and that alle the premysses in this courte may be duly examyned; and ther upon swiche reule and direccion to be had as lawe, reason and consciens requyryth. And that for the love of God and in wey of charyte. And your seid besecher shall ever pray to God for you.

One of the historical points, which I believe children are taught at school, is that trial by jury is the palladium of English liberty. The common folk of the fifteenth century seem, however, rather to have regarded a jury, especially a petty jury, with dread, as one may infer from the following bills.

JURY.

Bundle 64, No. 897.

Right mekely besechith your gracious lordship your pore suppliant Henry Saunder of London, milpacker, that wheras one Thomas Dyconson, a keeper of one of the unclenly howsez in the othir side of Temmesse, diverse tymes bothe in the cite of London and at the Toure, hath of his grete malice trobolid, swed and arrested your said supplyant by dyverse fayned accions ayenst trowth and conscience, in which the said Thomas cowde never prevayle by the lawe, to the grete hurt and grevouse cost of your said supplyant; the said Thomas, not sesyng of his malice, nowe late your saide pore oratour beyng in Sowthwerk abowte his besynes, causid hym to be arrest in to the Bisshop is preson of Wynchestir by dyverse fayned accions of dett and trespasse, and byn at an issue, tho that ben inpaneld in the enquest ben occupyers and keepers of such unclenly and defamy places as the said Thomas is, which purposyn ayenst all conscience to cast youre said poure oratour in so grete damagez that he shall never be abull to bere hit, unto the uttermost undoyng of your said suppliant withoute your gode lordship be unto hym in this behalf shewid.

Bundle 67, No. 104.

Mekely besechith your gude lordship Mathew Petit of London, merchaunt, that where one Johane Gybson, wyffe of one Robert Gybson, late cam to your besecher, beyng gret with

childe and sore betyn and hurt, and so sore strykyn upon hir right ie that the blode issued owght, the same Johane then seyng to youre seyde besecher that without she myght have sune eyd and secur of hym, she wer uttyrly destroyed, and seyde that hir husbond was in prison in Ludgate and condempnyd to divers men in gret summes of money, and she seyde fardirmore that hir husbond had made a deid of gyfte of all his goodys to one Thomas Gybson, by mene wheroff she had nothyng to lyf by, and seyde that she had bene with hir husbond in Ludgate, shewing to hym hir gryffe, and for that cause hir husbond, as she seyde, had so strykyn hir and hurt hir. And the same Johan seyde and deposid with great othis that she had not one peny to eyde hirselff with. Wherfor she desiryd your seyde besecher in the wey of allmes and charite to help hir, that she myght be relevid with lechecraft, and also to gyff hir mete and drynk. And your besecher, beyng mevid with pyte, seyng the seid Johan gret with childe and sore hurt and utturyly cast into that lamentable mysery of lakkyng hir sustenance, and also for consideracion that the same Johan was and ys cosyn to the wyffe of youre besecher, therfore he of very pyte, seyde to the seyde Johan that yf she wolde goo to a surgeon namyd Sabastian, he shuld releiff hir with his conyng of surgeonry and it shuld cost hir no money; and ferther seyde that forasmuch as she, the same Johan, was a mannys wyffe, therfor he wolde not hir resceyve into his howse, nor kepe hir in any wyse, savyng onely he seyde that rathir then she shuld peryssh for defawte of mete and drynk, at sich tymes of neid as she wolde come to the seid house of your besecher and ask mete, she shuld have it for the luffe of God. And it ys so nowgh, gracios lorde, that the seid Robert Gybson, husbond of the seid Johan, of his malicious disposicion withowte colour of cause resonabull, hath affirmyd a pleynt of trespas befor one of the Shiriffes of London, and by force therof causid your seid besecher to be arestid, imprisonyd and sore vexit, and hath surmysid that your besecher certen day, yeir and parich in London, with force of armys touk and led away the seid Johan, wyffe of the same Robert Gybson; and also surmysid that your besecher touk and bare away godis and catellis of the same Robert Gybson to the value of .xx. li. To the which your besecher pleatid acordyng to the trayth, as God knowyth, that he was not gilty, for he never medild in any wyse with the seid Johan, wyffe of the seid Robert, but onely as it ys befor shewyd by your seid besecher in this bill. And the seid Robert Gybson by synestre meanes of labur hath causid men of litill substauns and havir at his owne denominacion to be impanellyd, the whiche be cause of speciall aqueyntawnee, favour and allyaunce that they owe and be of to the seid Robert Gybson, wil hir no evidens to be gyffyn to them for the parte of your besecher, and also seyde that they wil nevir giff credens to the seyng off a merchaunt straunger in no accion wheras a Inglyshman is party. Wherfor your besecher, beyng a merchaunt strawnger and born beyond the see, by mene of the seid jurors, which neyther dred God nor the offens of perjure, shall be condempnyd agenst all gode conciens and withowt remedy by the comyn lawe, forasmuch as ther lith non atteynt upon untrewre verdit gyffyn in London.

The next bill contains a similar complaint of the absence of attainit in London, but the interest of the bill consists in its description of medieval sport.

HORSE-RACING.

Bundle 67, No. 49.

Mekely besecheth your good and gracious lordship your daily oratour William Whytyng of York, dyer, that wher abowt Whygtsontyde last passed at Hull in the counte of York, oon John Martyn of London, draper, and Miles Bysney of the same, covenanted to gedyr that what time they shuld come .ij. myles and a halfe from Yorke to a crosse called Grymston Crosse standyng in the right waye from Hull to York, .ij. childern shuld be sette uppon their .ij. horses, and oon John Nicholson shuld sette forth the horse of the seid John Martyn with a child syttyng uppon the same horse be the space of a furlong, and oon Thomas Spycer shuld set forth the horse of the seid Milys by the same space with an other childe sittynge upon that horse; and from thensforth the seid .ij. childyrn shuld ryde towards York as fast as they cowed, kepyng alwey the right weyes towards York; and yf the horse of the seid John Martyn so set forth, bothe horses kepyng alwey the right cowers, come sonner to a mylne hill standyng in the high weye but half a mile from York than the horse of the seid Miles, than your seid suppliaunt shuld delyver to the seid John Martyn .xxx. s. which was leyd in the handes of your seid suppliaunt at Yorke aforeseyd by the seid Miles to the same entent, and elles your seid suppliaunt shuld delyver ayen the same .xxx. s. to the seid Miles. And be as moche, good and gracious lord, as that the seid John Nycholson, takyng upon hym to sett forth the seid Miles horse, which shuld not have medelled therewith but oonly with the horse of the seid John Martyn, evyn in the setting furthe cautelosly turned the horse of the seid Miles owt of his waye towards the sowth into a falowe feld, and ther the same horse overthrew the childe that sate upon hym, and so ranne forth sowthward more than a myle owt of the hye waye, and so kept no right cowers towards York; all such persones as were there indifferent demyd by their conscience that your seid suppliaunt owt of verry right for to delyver ageyn the seid .xxx. s. to the seid Miles, and so he ded, as the same Miles ys redy to wytne at all tymes whan he shall be called therto. It is so, good and gracious lord, that your seid suppliaunt come but late to London for to bye certeyn ware there, and the said John Martyn hath caused hym to be arrested ther in one of the Shirrefs Counters upon an accion of accompt, supposyng that your seid suppliaunt at London in the parisshe of Seynt Sepulcrus shuld have resceyved of hym .xxx. s. to yelde hym acompt of, purposyng be the mene of .xij. of his neybouris be hym specially embrased and to whom your seid suppliaunt utterly unknown, to cause your seid suppliaunt to be condempned unto hym in the seyde .xxx. s. ayenst all right and good conscience. Wherfor your seid suppliaunt mekely besecheth your good and gracious lordship tenderly to consider the premysses, and how that the .xij. men of London owt not to medle with foreyn maters by the lawe, and yet oft tymes they doo, and the partie agenst whom they passe ys without remedy at the comen lawe bycause ther lyeth none atteynt in London; and also how that the seid John Nicholson, whiche sett the seid Miles hors owt of

his right cowrs at the setting forth of the same, was pryvyly of covyn with the seid John Martyn, and shuld have had halfe the seide .xxx. s. yf the same John Martyn had gotten theym, as your seid suppliaunt can sufficiently prove.

JURORS SUPPLIED WITH FOOD.

Bundle 64, No. 269.

Humbly besechith your gode lordship your poure oratoure Guy Hadam, that where one John Aleyn of London, brewer, and another woman at the sight on Seynt Petir is nyght last past in Chepeside of London had bothe ther purses cutt, wher upon ther was a grete rumor and noyse among the peple aboutht them. And your seid suppliant as he cam by, stode and herd the seid rumor and noyse of the peple, and as he stode under his fote fownde the womans pursse, and toke it upp and hild it upp on heght in his hande over his hede and shewed opponly that he had founde it. And incontenent the seid John Aleyn toke your seid suppliaunt and seid without he wold delyver his purce as well as the womans, he wold bryng hym to the Countre. Whereuppon youre seid suppliaunt was serchid, and they cowde fynde no purce nor knyf nor any other suspicious poynt uppon hym. That nott withstanding the seid John had hym arrested and hath summoned suche an enquest that .iiij. of the same undertoke to rewle all ther felowship. And they had with them in the rownd house datis, reysons of curranee and other spyces att the cost and purveyaunce of the seid John Aleyn, as it shall be proved before your lordship, and made all the remenaunte of the enqueste to feynte for default of sustenaunce that without they had seyde as they .iiij. did, they had ben like to have dyed. Whereuppon they yave ther verdite, and cast youre said suppliaunt in .v. marcs, contrary to all trowth and conscience, and to the utter undoyng of youre seid suppliaunt without it may please youre gode lordship, the premisses considered, in so moche as jugement theroff is nott yett gevyn, and also that the seyde John hath caused an alderman of the seid cite to ley his commaundment uppon your seid suppliaunt, so that howe be it your seid suppliaunt hath many tymes offered suffycient suerty, yett in noo wise he can be lettyn to bayle, to graunt a *corpus cum causa* to be drect to the Sheriffes of the seid cite, etc.

JURY.

Bundle 67, No. 154.

Lamentably compleyneth unto youre goode and graciouse lordshipp youre pouer oratoure and chapleyn, Sir Thomas Bateman, preste, that where as one Peers Fidyll of London, pulter, of late brake certeyn hegges and gardeynes of youre besecher atte London, and there bare away asmoche frute to the value of .xx. s. and more; for the whiche trespas so done youre

besecher toke an accion accordyng to the lawe in the seid Citee afore the Sherreffes of the same. And when the seid Peers was arested and lete to bayle, and the contre summoned apon the same, the seid Peers by thadvise of certeyn of the queste so summoned toke an accion of trespas ayenste youre besecher to the damages of .xxvj. *li.* there, surmysyng by the same that youre besecher shulde make asaute apon hym and sore bete hym and wounded ; and apon the same purposeth by the supportacion and promise made by the petye jurroures of the seid Citee, to condempne your besecher. Where as summe of the same have seid byfore sufficient profe, seyng these wordes, "Peers the preste hathe money ynoght, and he may well pay, and therfore doute not but wee shall geve hym a lyfte." And so youre besecher ys like to be condempned in the seid .xxvj. *li.* by the myght of the seid queste, where youre besecher never trespassed ayenst hym nor none of his, to the uttermost undoyng of youre besecher ayenst all right and goode conscience.

If this tale be true, it shows that a priest was considered a proper victim for extortion. Evidence of a similar feeling is afforded by the three following bills.

ESCHEATOR'S EXTORTION. PRIEST.

Bundle 66, No. 417.

Mekely besecheth your good and gracious lordship your dayly oratour John Towker, that wher oon John Garnesey, late servaunt to the Eschetour of the counte of Somersette, subtilly ymagynyng as depute and servaunt to the seid eschetour, to gette and rekyver extorciously of your seid suppliaunt a summe of money, came to oon William Towker, preest, broder to your seid suppliaunt, seiying to hym that he was owtlawed. For the whiche cause the same John Garnesey seid that he, as depute and servaunt to the seid eschetour, wold sease all the goodes belongyng unto the seid William Towker, preest, as goodes eschetid to the Kyng by reason of the seid outlawry, on lesse then he wold geve to hym a reward of .xl. *s.* To the whiche the seid William Towker aunswered seyng that he never gaffe cause to eny persone to commense or sue eny accion ayenst hym, nor never had knowledge of eny owtlawry to be ayenst hym pronounced ; to the whiche the seid John Garnesey aunswered, seiying that he knew seuerly that the same William Towker was owtlawed ; and furthermore promysed to the seid William Towker and to the seid John Towker your besecher, that if they wold be bounden to hym by their single obligacion in the summe of .xl. *s.* to be payed to hym at a certeyn day, that than he wuld surcese of season of eny godes of the seid William Towker ; and also promysyd upon his feith that if he brought not to the seid William Towker and John Towker before the day of payment conteyned in the seid obligacion, a copy of the seid owtlawrye, by the whiche it shuld playnly apere that the seid William Towker was owtlawed before the makyng of the seid obligacion, that then he wuld never clayme eny duete by the seid obligacion nor them vexe by colour of the same.

And the seid William Towker and John Towker, gyffing trust and confidence to the promyse and seyng of the seid John Garnesey, bowend them selfe jointly and severally to the seid John Garnesey in the summe of .xl. s. And afterward the seid John Garnesey brought no copy of the seid owtlawry unto the seid William Towker and John Towker nor either of them, nor none cowde bryng; for as moche as the seid William Towker at the tyme of the making of the seid obligacion nor before was not owlawed. The whiche not withstondyng, the seid John Garnesey contrarie to good conscience hath commensid an accion of dette before the Kynges justice of the Commen Place uppon the seid obligacion ayenst your seid besecher, and ther entendeth to condempne your seid besecher contrarie to rightwysnesse and contrarie to feith and promyse by the seid John Garnesey in forme forseid made; of the whiche your besecher can no remedie have by the comen lawe.

HEREFORD.

Bundle 64, No. 827.

Humble besecheth your good and gracious lordshypp your humble and pore oratour Nicholas Coke, chapeleyn, to consyder that wher your seid suppliant was falsely enprisoned by one Thomas May, late mayr of the cyte of Herford, and by hym styll kepte in prisone tyll he had made a fyne wyth hym of .xl. s., for the wheche wrongfull enprisonment your seyde oratour hath a byll ageynst the seyde Thomas May in the Kynges Eschequer be for the Barons of the seyde Eschequer. And for cause that your sayde oratour pursuyth ageynst the seyde Thomas May accordyng to the ordour of the lawe, the sayde Thomas May come to your seyde oratour at Herford and seyde that he wolde spend .cc. li. for to do hym a evyll torne. And therupon by confort of the seid Thomas May, one of his servantes callyd Richard Court made a fray uppon hym, and drewe a swerde uppon hym and wolde had a myschevyd hym had not other men ben; and also manased hym that wher sum evyr he mygth mete hym, he wolde bete hym.

And therupon, for fere of bodely harme, your seyde oratour toke suerte of peas ageynst the seid Richard Court, and causyd hym to be arestyd and for to fynde suerte to kepe the peas. And by cause of the weche arest the seid Richard Courte, by the exortacion of the seid Thomas May, hath affermyd a pleynt of fals inprisonment ageynst your seyde oratour before one John Tayle, now beyng mayr of the sayde cyte of Herford, and hath declared to his damage of .l. li. Wher uppon your seyde oratour was compellyd to answer, and he cowde have no maner of conceill for no maner of money to be wyth hym, nor the Court wyll nogth assigne hym none by no maner of meane, the wheche ys contrary to lawe and consyens. And also yt was openly seyde by the town clerke ther "that he that presumeth for to sue one that hath ben mayr ther, he owth to have no consell." And theruppon your seyde oratour understode nogt what to do, but as a man unlernyd pledyd nogt gyty, wher yf he had had consell he mygt have justified hyt accordyng to the lawe. So for defeaute of consell and also by the especiall labour that the seyde Thomas May makyth, and also the mayer now beyng, and

suche as have ben mayers take party ageynst your sayd suppliant, your seyde suppliant ys lykely to be condempnyd contrarye to the lawe and good conciens wythe owte your good and gracious lordschyp be schewyd unto hym on thys behalfe.

CLERGY.

Bundle 64, No. 1067.

Humble besechith your lordship your pore chapellaynis and oratours Sir Nicholas Whyte, Sir Martyn Darcy, and Sir Robert Brenan, prestis, that where as they on Friday nyght last past abowte .vij. of the clok sat in an honest house called "The Rose" in the Old Jury at London drynkyng a peny worth of ale, they thynkyng no harme, and were in Goddes pease and the kynges; whereuppon there was to or thre ill disposed persones, which were not at that tyme well advysed, overthwartely quereld with your said oratours, and so multiplied there unsettyng and shamefull lantage, thorowe whiche they wold have bettyn and wondyd youre said oratours, ne had thei not defend themselfe and skapid frome them and toke their chambres. Whereuppon they arraysed ther neyghbours, and wolde have brokyn upp the dorres of their said chaumbres, without your seid oratours had not com downe unto them, and there they browght your said oratours withowte any cause resonable unto the Countre and kepe them there all nyght, and yet doth; and also hath cast them in the fray. And moreover hath surmysed divers accions of trespasse ayenst them, and layde upon them an Aldermannys commaundement, by force of which they may not go at ther liberte to labour for themselfe; howgh be hit your said oratours han offred ryght sufficient suertes, and can in no wyse thereto be amytted, contrari to trowght and conscience, and to the grette hurt of your said pore chapellayns and oratours without your speciall lordship be unto them in this behalfe shewid.

LEASINGHAM.

Bundle 73, No. 54.

Shewith yow William Phelipp, knyghte, on the parte of oure lord the kyng, that where as Nicoll Besonthyn, vickery of the chirche of Lesyngham in the Counte of Lincoln, Edmund Baxster of the same, and other parachones of the same toun, and tenauntes to the sayd William Phelypp, the .xvj. th day of Maii last passyd, wente procession aboute the boundes of the sayd tounliche as hath be usyd before, to praye for the peas and the good spede of oure sovereign lorde; ther come John Harvy of Evedon in the countie of Lincoln, swyer, Richard Hert of the same toun, laborer, John Casson of the same, husbondman, Adam Casson of the same toun, husbondman, Thomas Gelle of the same, husbondman, John Louthe, yonger, of the same, laborer, John Gelle of the same, Robert Hornblynke of the same, husbondman, Rauffe Kyrkeman of the same, husbondman, Henry Smyth, of the same,

smyth, and other, with gret aray with palettes, haburjones, bowes, arwes, axes and gleyves as men of werre and riotours, and in the said vicary and parachones mad assaut and the crucifixe pulled don, seyng yf they went any further procession, that thei shulde slei them. For fere of which the sayd vicary ner parachones durst not at that tyme ne sithyn goo in procession,* leche as they have usyd tofore, the which is odyouse example. Please yt to yowre gracyouse lordship to graunte writtes *subpena* directe to the sayd riottores to appere aforn yow, and to chastise them so for this sayd ryotte, that other have now exemple to make swiche riotte. For the love of God and in the weye of Charite.

The following are specimens of bills asking for relief which the complainants believe that they cannot obtain through the common law.

A FATHER'S WILL.

Bundle 66, No. 454.

Mekely besechith your humble oratours John Besynbe and Isabell his wyfe, the eldest doughter to Sir Hugh Welughbe, knyght, and to Dame Marget his wyfe, summe tyme dwellyng at Wollaton in the Counte of Notyngham, that where in the lyfe of the seid Sir Hugh the seid Isabell and Philip Boteler, then hir husbond, in a tyme come to Wollaton beforeseid to thentent to se hir seid fadir and modir, and ther taried .iiij. or .v. dayes. And or they departed thense, the seid Sir Hugh called unto hym the seid Dame Marget his wyfe, and the seid Isabell and dyverse other of his children and servautes then beyng present, and there declared afore theym howe that he was most specially byholden to the seid Isabell and had founde more kyndnes in hir than in all the children that ever he had, wherfore he ther stretly willid and charged that the seid Isabell shulde have asmoche of his goodis as eny doughter that he had unmarried, which was certeyned by his will in writyng; and theruppon charged his wyfe, the seid Dame Marget, that she shuld delyver hir suche goodes after his discease as she wold answeere byfore God atte dredefull day of dome, saying thus to hir, "I shall leve enough to you to performe my will." Saying also to the said Isabell, "Doughter Bele, I charge yone on my blessyng and as ye will answeere before God and the devyll, that ye clayme it and aske it"; with many other circumstaunces whiche shalbe declared to your lordship hereafter. And anon after the seid Isabell and Philip Boteler, then hir husbonde, departed from thens home in to his contre. And within fewe dayes after the seid Sir Hugh made the seid Dame Marget his wyfe his executrice and died. After whose discease within fewe dayes after, the seid Isabell came to the seid Dame Marget hir modir and remembred hir of the seid Sir Hugh hir fadirs will declared in hir presence and others that she knowe right well. Hir seid moder answered and seyde, "Doughter, I knowe it well. As sone as I have maried your bredern and austers, ye shall have your parte according to your fadirs will;" as she in lyke wyse dyverse tymes sithen

* This disturbance appears to have grown out of some dispute about parish boundaries.

hath seid in presens of dyverse persons yet redy to recorde the same; and specially the .viij. day of August in the .xxxvij.th yere of Henry late in dede and not in right Kyng of Englund, at a maner of the seid Dame Margaretis called Middilton Hall in the shire of Warwik, where the same Dame Marget seyð unto the seid Isabell of hir owne mocion withoute eny remembraunce afore had, seid thus .ij. tymes. "Doughter Isabell, als sone as I have doo with the mareyng of your suster Eleanore and your brother Rauffe, in good feith ye shalbe served of all that was your faders will and charge"; as dyverse folkes ar redy to recorde the same. But thus by such wordis the seid Isabell many yeris hath be delayed and yet is, and hath suffred for displeasur of hir seid modir, the which she may susteyne no lenger. And nowe late the seid Isabell and hir husbond, your suppliaunt, have required the seid Dame Margaret to performe hir husbondes will accordyng to the premisses, and that to do she utterly refusith, and puttith it in delaye; wherin your suppliauntes can have no remedy by the course of the comen lawe, to the gret hurte and losse of your seid suppliauntes in lesse your gracious lordship be shewed to them in this behalfe.

DETENTION OF DEEDS.

Bundle 64, No. 556.

Sheweth unto your good and gracioux lordshipp Robert Draycote that, where he is seased of a mees with thappurtenaunce in Chelmerdon in his demeane as of fee, it is so, gracioux lorde, that divers dedes and evydencys concernyng and apperteynyng to the seid mees be comyn to the handez of oon William Bayly. And howe be it, gracioux lord, that your seid oratour hathe required delyvere of the seid evydences of the seid William, yet that to do he at all tymes hathe refused and yet dothe, contrarie to reason and good conscience. And in so much as your seid suppliaunt knoweth not the certeintye nor nombre of the seid evydences, nor whether they be enclosed in bagg, boxe sealed or chest loken, he can have no remedy by the common lawe.

Bills concerning detention of deeds are common, and usually contain this last clause.

Perhaps some here may remember in Fielding's *Amelia*, that when Dr. Harrison has captured Murphy, who had misappropriated title-deeds, the magistrate to whom he applies for a warrant says, "If the deeds were in a box, it would be felony to steal the box."^a

In the following cases the poverty of the complainants is the cause of their application to the Chancellor.

^a Book xii. cap 7, vol. ix. p. 342.

ACTION OF TRESPASS AGAINST CHILDREN.

Bundle 64, No. 912.

Humble besechith your gode lordship your pore childern and oratours, Richard Desford and John Desford, that where as one Richard Bolte of London, pewterer, of great cruelte and malice hath your said oratours arrested in the Countre of London upon a accion of trespasse, they beyng within the age of .xij. yere, that they shuld with force and arms, with knyfes and other wepon, brake the hous of the said Richard Bolte, and bete .ij. of his servaunts to the hurt of .xxvj. *li.*; where in dede of verrey trowght they never entird in to the hous of the said Richard nor never bett none of his said servauntez, save onely one of your said oratours cam unto the hous of the said Richard Bolte, and be the deliverance of one of his servauntez had delyverd a quarte pott belongyng unto the fader of your said oratour, for which after of his malice made his said servaunt to quarell with one of your said oratours, by which iche of them smote other with ther fistes, and no nothir harme done. And for this cause, by his labour, knowlich and myght, ayenst all trowght and conscience, wold cast your pore childern in the said some of .xxvj. *li.* for the valewe of a quart pott of .vij.d., ayenst all right and conscience and to the grete hurt of your said childern.

THE ROOD AT ST. PAUL'S.

Bundle 73, No. 169.

Besechen mekely your pouero oratours John Paunton of London, tailor, and Johanne his wyf, graciously for to considre that John Rider, clerk, gaf to Amy Tunbek and to the said Johanne and to here heires a mees and certein land, with the appurtenaunce, in the toune of Barghwam in the counte of Suffolk; by vertu of the whiche gyfte thay bothe weren seised of the said mees and land, and the forsaid Amy contynued here possession terme of here lyfe. And a lytill tyme before here deth she committed the kepyng of the said mees and land to John Luke, upon high trust that she hadde in hym, and delyvered to hym here godes and catall and here evydences beyng in the same mees, with the keis of the dores of it, safly for to kepe to here usee and to the uses of here said doghter. And after that the said Amy come in pilgrimage to the Rode of the north dore in Paules, and also for to see and visit your said suppliantes. And afterward the said Amy fell seke and deid in Fletestrete. And the forsaid suppliantes han ofte tyme required the forsaid John Luke for to make livere to hem bothe of the forsaid mees and land and of the dedes and evydences of all to have to hym as right and consciens wold, but the said John Luke denyes and refuses for to make lyvere to the suppliantes aforsaid of the said mees and land and of the dedes and evidences of it, to grete harm and lost to the same suppliantes. Wherefore like it to youre most gracious lordship to send after the forsaid John Luke by a writte *subpena* for to appere byfore yowe in the Chancery at a certein day, there to be examyned of these materes, and to

doo right to youre said suppliantes as gode faith and concians will, at the reverance of God and in the way of charitee, consideryng that they arn soo powere that they may noght suee the commun lawe for theyre righ in that partee.

MARRIAGE.

Bundle 66, No. 317.

Sheweth mekely beseching unto your good lordship your poure oratrice Alianore Lunte of Moche Waltham in the Shire of Essex, wedowe, that where diverse communicacions were late had and moved of mariage unto your seid oratrice by oone John Mynton of Berkyng in the seid shire; wherupon the same your oratrice, of grete trust whiche she had in the same John, and at his often and many desires to thentent of matrimony by hym feithfully unto her promytted, delivered unto the same John the substaunce of all her goodes, that is to sey .c. s. in money and other diverse goodes to the value of .xx. marcs, and diverse and many evidences concernyng the lond of your seid oratrice.

And after that the seid John had the possession of the seid money, goodes and evidences, he knowyng well the same to be the substance of all the goodes of your seid oratrice, than kepte and yet still kepeth and reteigneth all the same goodes, and denyeth his promys aforeseid, and in any wise to restore unto her the same goodes hath uttirly refused and yet refuseth, as a fals and deceyvable dissimuler, neither dredyng God nor the Kynges lawes. For as it is seid the same John hath a wyff beyng alyve, and hath not oonly thus deceived your seid oratrice, but diverse other in like fourme afore tyme. And by such sinistre meanes and labour of the seid John, affirmyng and callyng hymself a sengle man, and assuryng hymself by large promyses and othes to take to wyff your seid oratrice and her lawefully to wedde, your seid oratrice is thorough trust of the same uttirly undone, and is not of power to sue her recovere by way of accion after the cours of the comen lawe of this lond for grete poverte, her seid goodes thus beyng oute of her possession; so that she is withouten remedy but if your especiall good lordship to her be shewed in this behalf.

This case of breach of promise might belong to any age, but here is an account of the manner in which our rude forefathers sued their intended brides, which happily is quite out of date:

MARRIAGE.

Bundle 64, No. 419.

Mekely scheweth unto youre good and gracious lordship, Herry Sumpter late of Copforde in the counte of Essex, husbondman, that where he is attached be the body in

the tounne of Colchester to answere to a pleynte of dette affermed ageyne hym before the balies of the seid towne of Colchestre in ther Mote Halle, at the sute of Edward Smyth, Stephen Smyth and Thomas Kechyn, the yonger, upon an obligacion of .xl. li. It is so the seid Herry Sumpter hath a doughter called Agnes, now of the age of .xvj. yere, the wich Agnes, whan she was not full .xij. yere olde, was be the seid Edward and other riotous persones taken away from her said faders place at Copforde abovesaid, upon the Trinite Sondag, and sette uppon a horsse agayne her wille behynde one of the seid riotous persones, and ledde on to the place of the fader of the seid Edward, the wich was .vij. myle from her seid faders place, and there thei wolde have hadde her to have made a contracte with the seid Edward to have hadde hym to her husband; unto the wich she wold not agree nor yet wulle. And so at that tyme they lette her departe home agayn unto her faders place. And from that tyme tyll Marche laste paste, the seid Herry and Agnes have be contynually trobelid be the seid Edward and his frendys, in so moche that she was fayn to departe into the counte of Norfolke, and there dwelte a yere and more. And the .xx. day of Marche laste paste, the seid Edward and Thomas Kechyn sent for the seid Herry Sumpter and willed hym to be bounde to them in a obligacion of .xl. li., to this entente that his seid doughter shulde be putte in feer that if she wold not have the seid Edward, she shuld no oderwise knowe but that her seid fader shuld lese the seid .xl. li. be the seid obligacion, promyttyng hym he shuld nevyr be hurte be the same. And the seid Herry, trustyng ther seid promyssez, of truste delivered it them to the entente rehersed. And that notwithstanding, the seid Agnes wold never agree to the seid mariage. And the seid Edward, seyng he cowde not opteyne his purpose in the seid mariage, contrary to his seid promyse, hath affermed the pleynte agayn the seid Harry as is rehersed, in his name and other before the balies of Colchestre, as is above rehersed, uppon the seid obligacion of .xl. li. And there he is like to be condempned without the aide and comfort of your good lordship. And sith the seid Herry hath no remedy be the comen lawe of the lond, to graunte a *certiorari*, etc.

The next two petitions refer to houses of religion. In one, the complaint is against an abbey, in the other, a prior, who is a bad disciplinarian, appeals for help in keeping his monks in order to the Chancellor, on the ground that he has no ordinary within the realm of England to whom he can complain.

PRESHORE ABBEY.

Bundle 73, No. 44.

Beschit mekely youre and continuall orature Robard Neweman, that where as the seyde Robard maad a bargayn with William, late abbot of Percyore, and John Cheltenham, priour of the same place in the countee of Wurcetour, to make a vowte in the bowke of the cherche of Percyore aforeseyd, for a certeyn summe of money and for an annuite of .xx. s. and a

gowne yerly terme of hys lyve under the covent seall, as hyt more playnly aperyth by a bylle endentyd maad betwext youre seyde besecher and William, late abbot of the seyde plase. And youre seyde besecher hath wyll, truly and suffyciauntly maad the seyde vowte; and to make, seell and to delyvere to youre seyde besecher hys dede of annuyte acordyng to hys promyse, of .xx. s. and a gowne terme of the lyf of your seid besecher, Edmond Hert, the abbot that nowe ys, and the seid priour, utturyly reffusyn, to the grete hurt and undoyng of youre seyde besecher. Plese hyt your gracios lordschep this grete preiuisse* and wronges done to your seyde besecher, and he with owte remedye atte the comyn lawe, and to graunt hym wrettes ycalled *sub pena* dyrectyd to the seyde abbot and priour to a peer afore yow in the Chauncerye atte a certeyn day by yow alymytyd under a certeyn peyne, for the love of God and in way of Charyte.

HOLY TRINITY PRIORY, YORK.

Bundle 47, No. 256.

Humble shewith unto youre lordeship youre pore oratour, Robert, Priour of the Holy Trinite of Yorke, where Dan Robert Marshall and Dan John Garland, comonis of the said priore, that as where the said Dan Robert and Dan John jontely and severally diveres tymes and ofte, contrary to theire profession, have offended and trespassed in disobedience, and wold not obey ne kepe the rule of religion, bot ofte tymez haffe gounes out of the place late and arely without licence of any persone, in ley clothyng with basselerdez and other fencible weppen, jettyng be nyght as well within the Cite as withoute in unclene conversacion with wemen and other menys wifex, to grete sclander of the place. And fortermore, the said Dan Robert and Dan John, uppon the morn next after the Assumpcion of Oure Lady at nyght, arrayed theym fencibly in seculer clothyng and went oute of the place betwix .ix. and .x. of the cloke in the nyght unto a place withoute the cite called Seynt James Leyes, and ther they mette with oon John Dewe, a servaunt and prentese at the marshall crafte with oon Adam Hudson, an honest man of the Cite. And ther the said Dan Robert and Dan John Garland chalenged hym, and with theire baselardes gaffe hym diveres strokes in so much that they had almoste stryken of his lyft honde, as hit is yet to shewe and wolle be to his deyng dey, as the same John Dewe deposed affore youre seid suppliant and other bredren of the place, Thomas Neleson, Richard Claybruk, William Wryght and Nicolas Halyday, Sir Thomas Gyles and other worshipfull men of the Cite. Furthermore, the said Dan Robert Marshall had a manes wiffe in his selle within the dortour of the convent of the same place certeyn tymes, wiche woman is called Maude Stanes; her husbond is a glasyer. And whan yt was knawen, the same Dan Robert removed her in to the stepyll of the church, and ther was she takyn oute. Hee not remembryng that shame, wold not leve ther with but after continually accompayned hym with her and other evill named and vicious wemen with oute

* Prejudice.

the place in suspect places by nyght, not kepyng his observance and tymes of devyne servicez within the said churche as a man of religion, but continually hantying thise and mony other myschevous reules bothe be nyght and day, to the grete rumor and sclaunder of the place. Also the seid Dan John Garland continually accompayned hym in knowlage of syn with a yong woman dwellyng with William Marshall, a rendour within oure place. Wherfore he was charged to lefe her feloship and not to come where she were by the vertue of the obedience, but he presumptuously brake his obedience; for dayly and nyghtly wold he be with her at unlawful tymes and places unto tyme she was avoyded out of the place. And than was she abydyng at oon Nicolas Halydayes, and the said Dan John by his sotell craftes oft tymes at myddes of the nighte wold open the chirch dores and go forth and clymbe over the walles of the said Nicolas Halydais place, and be with her at his pleasure, ay when he wold. Wherfor the said Dan John was putte to correccion, and he wold no correccion take ne non obey, but presumptuously in the chapter kest of his abytt and wente oute from us alle dyspisyng and sayng ther shuld neyther priour, bisshop nor chancellor correct hym. And yet with help of William Wright, Richard Claybroke and other worshipfull men beyng present in the churche, Roger Acworth, John Belamy and other servaunts of the place, he was takyn and brought agayn. And ther the seid Dan John, affore us and thiese seid persones, declared and saith that Dan Thomas Dernton was as evell in the same synne as hee and wers, for he knewe and wist hym in synne with a woman not long affore, wich woman was doghter to William Boweman of the pareth there. The said Dan Thomas denyed not ne said not nay at that tyme. Also at the same tyme, affore the seid Dan Thomas Dernton and affore the seid persones, the same Dan John saith that the same woman, that he was punysshed fore, told hym that Dan Thomas Dernton labored her gretly to have his flesly justez with her and proferd her a girdyll and a nobyll, but she loved the forseid John so well she wold not agree therto; the same Dan John sayng thanne and mony tyme after that he wold abyde by that hit was thus as is afforeseid. Also the seid Dan John Garland, withoute auctorite ayenst his truth, haith receyved of William Baron a fermour to oure place .iiij. marcs in money unknowen to Dan Henry Leeke our officer and resceyvour, and the seid .iiij. marcs presumptuously withholdes. Moreover, the seid Dan Robert Marshall and Dan John Garland uppon Saint James Day last passed come unto the house of the kechen of the seid Priore, and ther vigorously drougt oute .ij. baslarden and with grete malice strake at a servant of our place called John Smyth and wolden have slayn him, but that .ij. of oure cokes letted theym, as God wold. And more over, the seid Dan John Garland and Dan Robert Marshall, not dredyng God nor kepyng their devyne servis nor their Religion, daily and nyghtly, at the said Priore and within the seid Cite of Yorke, rangeyng and jettynge uppe and donne with swerdes, baslarden and with other defensable array, nott willyng to abide no mans correccion but utterle despisyng youre suppliant and all the bredren of the seid monestere. Wherfore your seid besecher prayeth youre goode lordship, conseyderyng that he is nother of myght nor of power to punysh the said misdoers, and haath noon ordinare within the roialme of England to compleynt to, that the said mysdoers myght be punysshed be avise of youre lordship as hit semeth best after your grete wysdom. And your suppliant shall dayly pray to God for the preservacion of your goode lordship.

This house was refounded by Ralf Paynell in 1089 for Benedictine monks as a cell to the abbey of St. Martin Marmoustier at Tours, which abbey had the exclusive patronage of the priors.

It was not suppressed with the other alien priories, but made denizen by a grant from Henry VI. dated 18th March, 1426 (Pat. 4 Henry VI. part ii. m. 8), conferring the right of election on the priory itself.

The petition of the priory on which this patent was granted is printed in *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 302. The prior mentioned in this document, Robert Huby, is not included in Dugdale's list of priors.^a

The surname is not on the bill but on the answer, which follows.

Bundle 47, No. 255.

This is the answer of Dan Robert Marchall and Dan John Garlond, unto the bill of Dan Robert Huby, untrewly calling hym Priour of the Holy Trinite of Yorke.

The said Robert Marchall and John Garlond sayn that thei have here as thei understand noon competent juge to her, decide and determine the materez conteigned in the said bill concernyng spirituall and relegious correccion. And if it be proved and thought by this court that thei have sufficient auctorite and poer, and be competent juges to here, decide and determine such materez conteigned in the said bill touchyng spirituall correccion; than thei sayn that the said Robert Huby, namyng hymselfe Priour of the Holy Trinite of Yorke, is not ner aught not to be Priour ther, but on Thomas Darnton is and aught to be verray trewe Priour of the said place, and also is ordina[ry] and viker generall of ther said relegion, to whom of right and non other longeth and perteyneth all spirituall correccion. Moreover thei sayn that the mater conteigned in the said bill is untrew and also [in]sufficient and noncerteyn to put them to answer. And over that the more part of the mater conteigned in the said bill is espiituell mater, and not determinable in this court, but in spirituall court, and with inne ther Relegion. And the residue of the mater is clerely determinable at the temporall lawe. And in which^b materez as be determinable by the comen lawe, thei ought not to be putt to answer withoute ther soverayn. For all which causez thei pray to be dismissed oute of this Court. And for more declaracion of the trougth, thei sayn and eyther of them saith, that for such offensez as touche espiituell correccion, if any such ther wer, thei have submitted them to the correccion of ther Relegion; and ther by the auctorite of ther souerayn and Religion they ben corrected and dispensed with; for which defautez and offencez if any such ther wer, thei understond not that thei

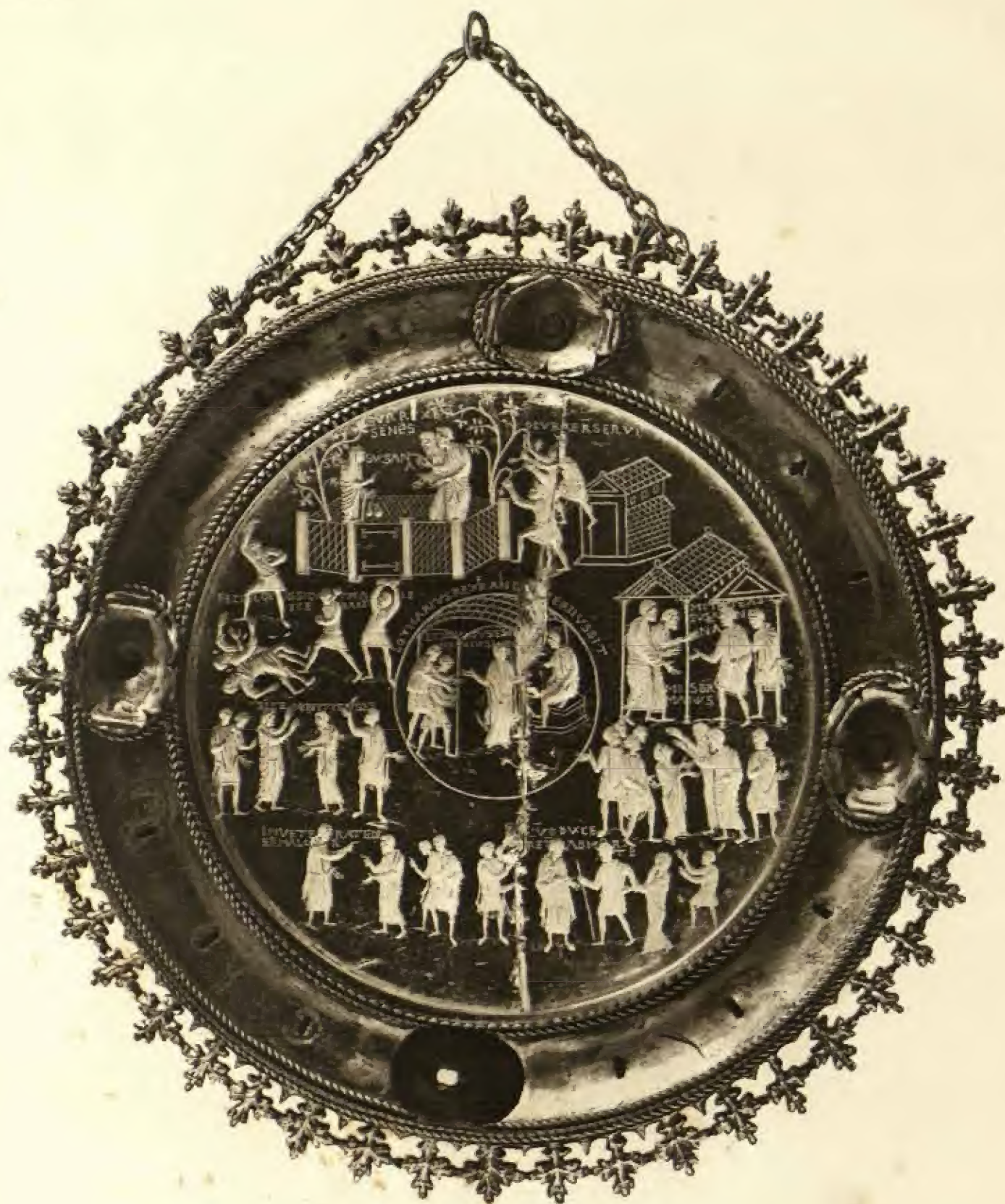
^a *Monasticon*, iv. 680.

^b Error for "such."

ought eftesonez to be enpeched of. And as to the residue of the mater conteigned in the said bill, not gylty. All which the said Robert Marchall and John Garlond arn redy to prove as this Court will awarde, and prayen to be dismissed oute of this Court with ther resonable costez and damagez for ther untrewе vexacion, accordyng to the Statute in this cas purveyed.

These few specimens will, I think, be sufficient to show that the documents from which they have been selected, which have been hitherto but little known and not much used except by pedigree hunters, are worthy of being studied for several purposes, and will afford useful material to students of the English language, to students of the domestic manners and customs of our ancestors, and to students of the history of trade and commerce.





THE CRYSTAL OF LOTHAIR
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

II.—*The Crystal of Lothair.* By ORMONDE M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read 10th March, 1904.

THE famous jewel known as the Crystal of Lothair, now in the British Museum, was preserved from the first half of the tenth century down to the French Revolution in the Abbey of Waulsort or Vaso, on the Meuse, seven kilomètres from Dinant. Its truly remarkable history has already been briefly related for English readers by Mr. W. H. James Weale,^a while its importance to art and archæology is discussed in French and Belgian publications by M. Ernest Babelon, of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, and by M. Alfred Bequet of Namur.^b But it has never been described in English at any length, nor has it been hitherto reproduced by a photographic process on a scale worthy of its exceptional interest. The late Sir A. Wollaston Franks, P.S.A., went so far as to have a negative taken, and intended to publish it in *Archæologia* a good many years ago; but unfortunately the pressure of other work prevented him from carrying out his purpose. It is from this negative that the photogravure illustrating the present paper (Plate I.) has been produced.

The jewel of Lothair is a lenticular rock crystal $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, engraved in intaglio with eight scenes from the Story of Susanna, and enclosed in a gilt bronze mount of fifteenth-century work which has replaced an earlier set-

^a *Magazine of Art*, December, 1900. Mr. Weale had at an earlier date drawn attention to the identity of the crystal with the jewel described in the *Chronicle of Waulsort*.

^b E. Babelon, *La gravure sur gemmes en France* (Paris, 1902), pp. 24 ff; *La gravure en pierres fines*, p. 231; *Compte rendu des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1895, p. 410. A. Bequet, *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, xviii (1889). Earlier references are: J. Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*, i. 199 ff; A. Darcel, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xix. (1865), 130; Charles de Linas, *Orfèvrerie Mérovingienne*, 48.

ting. At some time unknown, but probably at the close of the eighteenth century, it was damaged by the vertical crack visible in the plate. It has been suggested that, like the Merovingian crystal spheres referred to below, it may have been worn round the neck as an amulet; but even without its setting it would be so large and heavy that it would be an awkward thing to wear except upon rare occasions.

Susanna persecuted by the elders was regarded in early Christian times as a symbol of the persecuted Church and of the redemption of man from the powers of evil. Her name occurs in the *Commendatio animæ** among those of other just persons who have been saved by divine aid in the hour of peril. She is represented in the catacombs as a lamb between two wolves, and it is the scene of her temptation which is most usually found upon Christian monuments, though it is often indicated rather than represented, by a single figure in the attitude of prayer. Groups of more than one scene illustrating her history are less frequently met with; but it is perhaps significant that some of the best examples are to be seen on the fourth-century sarcophagi of the South of France,^b which must have been familiar to Carlovingian artists. Each of the eight episodes selected by the engraver of the crystal is accompanied by a descriptive legend in Latin, and the last of the series is enclosed in a central medallion, above which is the historical inscription:

LOTHARIVS REX FRANCORVM FIERI JUSSIT.

It may be noted that the letter F in the word *Francorum* was at first forgotten and afterwards inserted above the first R.

The first scene, across the upper part of the gem, represents the temptation of Susanna. She stands in a polygonal enclosure with a door at the front, and containing two trees to signify that it is a garden. In her left hand are two vessels for unguents, and her right hand is raised with extended forefinger, showing that she is expostulating with the elders, who stand side by side before her. Behind them two servants in short tunics are seen running up in response to their mistress's cry from a building at the back, and grasping the boughs of a

* *Libera, Domine, animam ejus, sicut liberasti Susannam de falso crimine.*

^b E. Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles* (Paris, 1878), pl. viii. The story of Susanna is also found on the famous carved ivory reliquary of the fourth century at Breseia (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, vi. pl. 441-445; photographs, H. Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke*, part ii. nos. 11-15.

tree with the object of scaling the wall. Above the principal group is engraved the legend, SVRREXER SENES (*surrexerunt senes*), and on either side of Susanna's head, SCA SVSANA (*Sancta Susanna*). Above the servants we read, OCVRRER SERVI (*ocurrerunt servi*). (*History of Susanna*, vv. 15-26.) In the next scene (below, to the right) the two elders appear in the house of Joacim ordering two servants to bring Susanna before them; legend, MITTITE AD SVSANAM ("Send for Susanna," v. 29). Below this is a group with the two elders in the centre extending their hands over Susanna's head, MISER MANVS (*miserunt manus*, "And laid their hands upon her head," v. 34). At the bottom, on the right, an official with a staff is leading off Susanna, but is confronted by Daniel, who accuses the men of Israel of folly in condemning a daughter of Israel without knowledge of the truth; to right and left two figures raise their arms in astonishment. Legend, CVQ DVCERET AD MQRTE (*Cumque duceretur ad mortem*, "Therefore when she was led to be put to death:" vv. 45-49). To the left of this group Daniel is seen rebuking one of the elders, while two figures behind by their gestures express their indignation at the base conduct of the culprit and their approval of Daniel's words: "O thou who art waxen old in wickedness," INVETERATE DIER MALOR (*Inveterate dierum malorum*, v. 52). Above, Daniel is convicting the second elder of falsehood, while the onlookers give vent to their feelings of wonder and disgust: "Well, thou hast lied against thine own head," RECTE, MENTITVS ES (v. 59). Above again, comes the punishment of the delinquents, a vigorous scene of lapidation: "And according to the law of Moses, they did unto them in such sort as they maliciously intended to do," FECER Q̄ EIS SICVT MALE EGERANT (*feceruntque eis*, etc. v. 62). The central medallion contains the conclusion of the whole matter. The liberated Susanna stands before Daniel, who sits in the seat of judgment. A canopy supported on four pillars indicates that the scene occurs in a building. Legend, ET SALVATVS E SANG INNOXIUS IN D A (*Et salvatus est sanguis innoxius in die illa*), "Thus the innocent blood was saved the same day" (v. 62).

Throughout these representations the secondary persons are clad in the short tunics and cloaks worn by the Franks in everyday life, and similar to those in common use during Roman times. The principal actors wear the garments familiar to us on early Christian monuments. The elders are represented in the long tunic and pallium; Daniel has the same tunic, with a mantle (*lacerna*) fastened by a brooch over the breast; Susanna a long tunic and a mantle (*palla*) thrown over her head. The hair of the male figures forms a marked line across the heads, as if it had been cut with a basin, a fashion which is also found on

Carlovingian ivories,* but can be traced on works of an earlier period, for example on a sixth-century diptych^b in the Carrand collection.

The architecture, which is identical with that of contemporary ivory carvings and illuminations, also betrays its debt to that of late Roman times, and the canopy in the central medallion is allied to the *ciborium* of early Christian churches.^c The enclosure surrounding the garden, with its lattice-like sides, is strikingly similar to a higher polygonal enclosure surrounding the figures of the Virgin and St. Anne in the *Salutation* in a miniature^d of the ninth-century Gospels of St. Médard from Soissons, now in the National Library at Paris. In the present case, the limbs below the knees being invisible, it is probable that a solid fence or wall is intended, and not a garden trellis, which would not be strong enough to support such a door as that here represented. From a comparison with the MSS. and ivories^e we might conclude that the date of the crystal is not far from the middle of the ninth century, even were there no central inscription with its reference to Lothair. Unfortunately this inscription is of a character which admits of more than one interpretation, and it is possible to dispute the identity of the person for whom the jewel was made. There were two Lothairs, father and son, whose respective reigns fell within the years 843-855 and 855-869. But the first was associated in the empire by Louis the Debonair as early as A.D. 817, so that his proper title would be *imperator* and not *rex*. And though it may seem strange that the younger Lothair, who was King of Lorraine, should not so describe himself, but adopt the title of King of the Franks, it is more probable that he should do so than that one who possessed an undisputed right to the name of emperor should content himself with a title of inferior dignity. M. Bequet, following Labarte, would assign the crystal to the earlier Lothair. But the French archæologist explained the singularity of the inscription as due to the patriotic sentiment of a Byzantine engraver unwilling to grant to one whom he regarded as a mere barbarian king the style of right belonging to the Eastern emperor. To accept this view it would be necessary also to adopt

* E.g. on a panel in the Bargello at Florence (Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke*, part ii. no. 29).

^b E. Molinier, *Ivoires*, pl. v.

^c A similar canopy occurs in the Bible of the Monastery of St. Paul near Rome; see *post*.

^d Reproduced by C. Louandre, *Les Arts Somptuaires*, i.

^e Especially the ivory panels upon the great book-covers in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, panels in the British Museum (Graeven, as above, part i. nos. 36, 37), at South Kensington (Graeven, nos. 59, 68), and Florence (Graeven, part ii. no. 29).

Labarte's theory of a Byzantine origin for the jewel, a theory which hardly does full justice to the remarkable talent evoked in the Frankish dominions by the Carolingian Renaissance. Difficult though the engraving of so hard a substance as crystal may be, there is surely no good reason to suppose that such work as that of Lothair's crystal was altogether beyond the powers of the Franks; there are so many details in which the engraved figures closely agree with ivories and miniatures of undoubted Carolingian origin that the Byzantine theory appears superfluous. But although we may deny that the jewel is the work of an engraver from the Eastern Empire, the suggestion that the Franks were led to practise the glyptic art by Byzantine example is not to be lightly rejected.

Remembering the old proverb that he who teaches himself has a fool for his master, we might say that the Carolingians had too much wit not to be good disciples when they were really eager for improvement. It has always been known that from the time of Charles the Great they copied early Christian monuments in Italy and the South of France, and that their ivory carvings and their manuscripts show many motives which testify to an acquaintance with the sarcophagi and ivories produced in those countries. But it is only in recent years that scholars have begun to appreciate the part played by the Christian East in the development of Frankish art. Evidence is rapidly accumulating that not merely in architecture, but in the minor arts of manuscript-illumination and ivory carving, the best work of the ninth and tenth centuries owes much to early Oriental models produced for the most part in Syria and Egypt.^a The oldest school of Carolingian miniature painting, that which derives its name from the *Ada MS.* at Trèves, reveals numerous traces of Oriental influence; and allied to it in style are several remarkable ivory carvings preserved in European museums. The Utrecht Psalter itself, distinguished though it is by a marked individuality of treatment, is now said to be largely indebted to Greek models, perhaps as ancient as the fourth century; so that its vigorous style, formerly attributed to the exuberance of the virile northern temperament, may be rather due to the inspiration of Græco-Roman antiquity.^b The illuminated psalters and the remarkable ivory caskets, mostly with secular subjects, produced in Constantinople about the same period,

^a Among recent contributions to this subject may be mentioned the essays of Dr. A. Haseloff, Sauerland and Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts zu Trier*, and *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxiv. (1903), 47 ff.; the valuable articles in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin—Stuttgart), by Dr. W. Vöge (xxii. (1899), 95 ff., 446 ff., xxiv. 195 ff., xxv. 119 ff.); and Professor A. Goldschmidt (xxii. 44 ff., and xxiii. 265 ff.).

^b H. Graeven, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxi. (1898), 28 ff.

betray a similar late-classical influence, and are sometimes marked by a like rude vigour of treatment; it is not impossible that East and West were at this time drawing upon models of the same character, and that this may account for affinities which occasionally assert themselves in spite of all the obvious differences of manner and style.^a

In the ninth century Constantinople must still have been rich in late-classical gems, MSS., silver vessels, etc. to the study of which a new impulse was probably given by the outbreak of iconoclasm. Original monuments of this early date would naturally be less abundant in Gaul, where their influence was chiefly felt at second-hand; but the work of the Christian East during the period between the fifth and seventh centuries, when Syria and Egypt were perhaps the most active artistic centres, must have been brought to the ports of Southern France in considerable quantities, for the commercial relations between Gaul and the Eastern Mediterranean were then close and uninterrupted.^b The ivories and MSS. which came into Western Europe by this route are held to have affected the development even of monumental sculpture, to say nothing of the minor arts like ivory carving where their influence is manifest. When we consider the manifold, if often devious and obscure, channels by which Eastern influence permeated Italy and Southern Gaul, and thence reached Central and Northern Europe, it would be strange were gem engraving alone to prove unaffected; and all the more strange on account of the great rapidity of its development. For in the matter of cutting hard stones the Merovingians had not advanced beyond fashioning the crystal spheres which they wore as amulets, and even Pepin and Charlemagne used antique intaglios for their seals. MM. Babelon and Bequet have therefore reason on their side when they argue that the sudden appearance of the art of engraving gems postulates some kind of tuition from craftsmen of experience and skill. It is true that early Byzantine gems of any quality are rare; but among the few which remain there are examples which are not without merit and may well have served as models.^c Given the accessibility of such models, the territories non under Frankish rule were capable of producing apt imitators who would soow

^a Cf. especially the casket in the *Museo Kircheriano* at Rome. G. Schlumberger, *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot)*, Paris, 1900. pl. xviii. For the Byzantine psalters see N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art Byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris, 1886); and J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, i. (Helsingfors, 1895).

^b See L. Bréhier in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1903, pp. 1 ff., where references to the recent work on the relations between Europe and the East in the early Middle Ages will be found

^c E.g. Babelon, 42.

achieve complete independence. The Rhine, with its memories of glass engraving under the Roman Empire, can hardly have lost all its technical traditions, and in the valley of the Meuse there may also have been sparks smouldering in the ashes which only needed a breath to quicken them into flame. Without denying that the influx into the West of Greek fugitives from the iconoclastic persecution exercised a considerable influence on Western art, we must not forget the more permanent forces which were in existence long before Leo the Isaurian began his crusade.

Though it may thus be claimed that the crystal of Lothair is actually Frankish workmanship, it is hardly possible to conjecture in what particular spot it was made. The best clues which aid us to distinguish the different provinces of Carolingian art are furnished by the illuminated MSS.; but although attempts have been made to assign the schools of illuminators to the various centres such as Rheims, Tours, Corbie, or Metz, few attributions are universally accepted, and the classifications of various scholars have been criticised and frequently revised.^a The subject is one with which only an expert can hope to deal, even though the MSS. are comparatively numerous. The task is more difficult still in the case of gem engraving, where material for comparison is so scanty. Analogies in the treatment and grouping of the figures which recall MSS. and ivories assigned to monasteries in Northern France and on the Rhine make it probable that the northern part of the Frankish territories was the place of origin; but this was a region which in Carolingian times was subjected to a score of interacting influences, the ramifications of which have yet to be completely mapped out. At one time the eye seems to detect in the details of our intaglio resemblances to the work of the school of Corbie; at another time to those of Metz or Rheims. The Utrecht Psalter was written and illustrated at the Abbey of Hautvillers near the latter city;^b and though the difference between the media in which a draughtsman and a gem-engraver respectively work is very great, it does not prevent a certain community of feeling which finds its expression in the attitudes and gestures represented. The Bible of the Monastery of St. Paul on the Ostian Way, which has been ascribed by different scholars to Corbie and to Rheims, has also here and there features which remind us of the crystal. For instance, the man wielding an

^a See H. Janitschek in K. Menzel's *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift* (Cologne, 1884), and other articles by Janitschek and Leitschuh. In addition to these the more recent books and articles by W. Vöge, A. Haseloff, G. Swarzenski, and A. Goldschmidt should be consulted.

^b P. Durrieu, *L'origine du MS. célèbre dit le Psautier d'Utrecht* (Paris, 1895); A. Goldschmidt in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (1892), 156; R. Stettiner, *ibid.* (1895), 199.

axe in the scene where Moses offers a sacrifice before the Children of Israel^a has the same impetuosity in action which we note in the stoners of the guilty elders. Doubtless one thoroughly conversant with the whole group of Carlovingian illuminations would be able to point to resemblances even more marked in other MSS. But Rheims was not only the seat of a school of illuminators, it was also known for its ivory carvers, specimens of whose art are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in the British Museum, at Munich, and at Weimar;^b and its goldsmith's work was very widely distributed.^c The town was in fact one of the most important artistic centres in Europe, and its influence was felt throughout Northern France.^d Such a place might well have had its gem engravers as well as its goldsmiths; and, as it happens, Rheims is prominently connected with the curious history of the jewel shortly to be recounted. But too much stress need not be laid upon this consideration of locality, especially in the case of such a portable object. For in the Middle Ages all kinds of causes combined to dissociate the production of works of art from the places where they were finally preserved. There were, for instance, the nomadic habits of the artists and craftsmen, who constantly moved from place to place; the adoption of a foreign style by native artists trained abroad; the circulation of costly gifts presented by kings, bishops, and abbots in different parts of the continent to each other or to churches; the dispersion of possessions at the owner's death; and the lending of objects to be copied.* It will be seen that where such conditions are prevalent, it is not safe without a complete chain of evidence to assume that any given object was made at or near the place with which a merely fragmentary history may connect it, or where it has been for centuries preserved.

The Lothair crystal does not stand alone as an example of Carlovingian gem-engraving, for eight other crystal intaglios of smaller size have survived. That at

^a J. O. Westwood, *The Bible of the Monastery of St. Paul near Rome* (Oxford, 1876), with photographs by Parker, photograph 3093. Cf. also other figures resembling those upon the crystal in photographs 2718, 3100, 3104; a canopy like that seen in the central medallion of the crystal occurs in photograph 3300. Professor Kondakoff (as above, ii. 39) notes the resemblance between this book and a Greek MS. with fragments from the Bible in the Vatican Library (*Fonds de la reine Christine*, no. 1). The fact has its bearing on the general question of the relations between Western and Eastern art referred to above.

^b G. Swarzenski, *Die Karolingische Malerei und Plastik in Rheims; Jahrbuch der Königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1902, p. 91.

^c *Ibid.* 92.

^d For the activity of Rheims see also Professor A. Goldschmit, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xv. (1892), 166.

* On these unsettling influences which affected the medieval minor arts, see G. Humann in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxv. (1902), 9 ff.

Aix-la-Chapelle, set in a gold reliquary-cross with cabochon stones and antique cameos, is the most important, having a royal bust surrounded by the inscription + XPE ADIVVA HLOTHARIVM REGEM, which probably refers to the same king for whom our jewel was made. The bust is executed in a good style, which proves that the artist, like the engravers who made the dies for coins of Charlemagne and Louis the Debonair, was able to appreciate and to imitate antique models. The seven remaining examples are: a large rectangular crystal at Rouen engraved with the Baptism; an intaglio at the École des Beaux Arts Paris, with a figure of St. Paul, and legend SCS PAVLVS APSL, which in the proportions and treatment of the draperies reveals a close analogy to the Lothair crystal; a Crucifixion in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, again showing the same style; a Crucifixion in the treasury of Conques, set in the back of the chair on which the figure of Saint Foy is seated; two Crucifixions in the British Museum, the smaller almost identical with that at Conques, the larger of inferior workmanship, and probably rather later date;^a and yet another Crucifixion in the central leaf of a great Rhenish enamelled triptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.^b The representations of the Baptism and Crucifixion on these gems should be compared with those of contemporary ivories, the similarity of their composition proving them to be works of the same country and period.

The list of Carolingian engraved gems is a short one, but there can be no doubt that a number have disappeared in the course of centuries. Eight of these vanished gems engraved with royal busts were used as seals by six kings, and we are able to judge of their artistic merit by the wax impressions attached to diplomas preserved in French archives.^c They are: a seal of Louis the Debonair dating from A.D. 816, with legend + XPE PROTEGE HLDOVICVM IMPERATORE(M); two seals of Charles the Bald dating from A.D. 843 and 847 respectively; one of Carloman, A.D. 882; two of Charles the Fat, A.D. 886 and 887; one of Charles the Simple, A.D. 951; and one of Lothair, son of Louis d'Outre Mer, A.D. 967. The earlier examples of the series, which resemble the intaglio of Lothair in the reliquary-cross at Aix-la-Chapelle, are inspired by Roman coins, perhaps of Commodus; but the later seals are imitations of the earlier, and illustrate the decadence which always results from successive copying, the latest of all being extremely barbarous in design. The matrices

^a Both these examples are well reproduced by Babelon, *La Gravure sur gemmes en France*, plate iii. M. Babelon figures all the Carolingian crystal intaglios, and the student of early medieval gem-engraving should consult his book.

^b Babelon, 44, fig. 20.

^c *Ibid.* pl. iv.

of these impressions disappeared during the Middle Ages, but two or three other gems, which may have been Carolingian, survived long enough to be reproduced by drawings in printed books, only vanishing in comparatively modern times.^a It will be gathered from the above lists that there must have been a school of gem-engravers in France whose finest work was produced towards the middle of the ninth century as a result of the Carolingian renaissance. Literary evidence as to their activity is very meagre, there being apparently only one reference at present known, occurring in a letter of Servais Loup, abbot of Ferrières, to Charles the Bald, accompanying a gift of gems made, as the writer states, by his own *opifex*.^b Of the Byzantine gem-engraving which aided the Carolingian art in its sudden rise, we learn no more, and our knowledge in this field is of the scantiest. Intaglios which can with certainty be ascribed to the early Eastern Empire are rare, and Theophilus, our chief medieval authority, barely mentions the existence of engravers working at the same time as carvers in ivory. From the time of the Basilian revival crystal was employed in the Eastern Empire not only for jewels but also for making cups and chalices, and these occur among the gifts which were so frequently sent by Byzantine emperors to Western princes. Thus in A.D. 872-3 Basil sent to Lewis the German a crystal of great size mounted in gold and gems.^c It was also a favourite material with the Saracens, notably the Fatimy Khalifs of Egypt in the tenth century, who caused vases and cups to be made from it.^d But it had been popular at a far earlier period, both for signets and for the ornamentation of drinking vessels, partly, no doubt, because it was believed, like other gems, to possess magical properties, relieving thirst and checking the flow of blood.^e We need not here trace its use further back than the Sassanian period in Persia, which is worthily represented by the *Coupe de Chosroes* at Paris,^f though it was well known to the earlier civilisations of Western Asia. In Europe it was easily obtainable from the Alps and the Carpathians, and its accessibility may partially account for its early popularity in

^a Babelon, 37.

^b *Ibid.* 39.

^c Hamann, as above, 14.

^d S. Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 194. For the Byzantine and Saracenic crystal vessels in the treasury of St. Mark at Venice, see Pasini, *Il tesoro di San Marco*; E. Molinier, *Le trésor de S. Marc*; and E. Babelon, as above, pp. 54 ff.

^e Babelon, 70. On medieval beliefs as to the magical properties of gems, see F. de Mély, *Du rôle des pierres gravées au Moyen Âge* (Lille, 1893), and *Revue de l'art Chrétien*, 1893.

^f In the Cabinet des Médailles, see Babelon, *Catalogue des Camées*, No. 379.

the West, though its magical reputation was doubtless an important factor. We may recall once more the rock crystal spheres worn round the neck as amulets by the Merovingians and Anglo-Saxons, the prototypes of which are perhaps to be sought in the South of Russia.^a

The examination of the crystal having led us to the belief that it is a work executed in the northern part of the Frankish dominions soon after the middle of the ninth century, we may now trace its later fortunes, which are surpassed in interest by those of few other works of art preserved to us from the Middle Ages. For the earlier part of the record we have the authority of the Chronicle of the Abbey of Waulsort,^b in which place, it will be remembered, the jewel remained down to the time of the French Revolution. Where it was during the century between the time of its manufacture and its appearance in the valley of the Meuse history does not record.

In the first half of the tenth century, says the Chronicle, there lived at Florennes, in the present province of Namur, a puissant seigneur named Eilbert, "industrius, strenuus et vir bellicosus." One day he visited the fair at the neighbouring town of Thierache, and there he saw a powerful and beautiful horse, which he at once decided must become his, let the cost be what it might. With such a steed he felt that he would be invincible in any encounter: it would be to him "a tower of strength" in the day of battle. But the owner of the animal was a canon of Rheims, clearly not unversed either in worldly ways or in the science of horse-coping, for he resolutely insisted upon ready money, which Eilbert could not produce. Vexed at the necessity for returning empty-handed, but quite determined to raise the requisite sum by hook or by crook, the count sought his noble consort Heresindis, and laid before her the absolute necessity of concluding the bargain. He played upon her feelings by insisting that the purchase was essential not merely for his peace of mind but also for his personal safety, for by the aid of this horse there was no danger which he would not surmount: once upon its back he would ride in surety through the direst perils which destiny might have in store. But the prudence of the housewife was proof against the most dramatic appeals to her tender solicitude, for the Lady

^a A small sphere of crystal or glass mounted for suspension in very much the same style as the Early Teutonic examples was found in a Græco-Scythian grave dating from the fourth-third century B.C. Cf. *Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale archéologique*, year 1876 (St. Petersburg, 1879), atlas, plate ii. fig. 9.

^b L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, etc. 2nd edition (Paris, 1723), ii. 709 ff: *Chronicon Valsiodorense*. The Chronicle deals with the years between 944 and 1242.

Heresindis seems to have had her doubts as to the probable issue of the affair, and refused her assent to her lord's extravagance. Then Eilbert in desperation resorted to a mean expedient: without his wife's knowledge he abstracted a wonderful jewel, which was perhaps as much her property as his, though the text does not necessarily imply that this was the case.^a With this he hurried off to the canon, and leaving it as a pledge, returned with the horse to face the reproaches of Heresindis. The chronicler describes the jewel in such a manner as to leave no doubt that it was the identical crystal which forms the subject of this paper, his impossible attribution to St. Eloi, the Merovingian bishop and worker in metals, being due to the natural desire of the churchmen to associate the work with the name of the greatest of Frankish craftsmen.^b The reader of this monastic document will be more surprised to find that the Merovingian bishop and the Carolingian king are evidently regarded as contemporaries, a fact which reflects little credit upon the historical teaching of the day. The use of the word *berillus* in describing a crystal need excite no remark, as it is of frequent occurrence in this sense in medieval registers; but it may be repeated in this place that the original setting, the existence of which is implied by the words *in medio positus*, was replaced in the fifteenth century, to which period the present mount belongs.

When the day for the redemption of the pledge arrived, the count went to the canon duly provided with the money, but to his astonishment was met with a flat denial that any jewel had been pledged at all. The interview seems to have ended in personalities and recriminations, Count Eilbert returning unsuccessful and in a state of fury easily to be imagined in the case of an impetuous warrior thwarted by insidious wiles.^c It was not to be expected that he would for a moment acquiesce in such treatment as he had received. We read that he

^a Sine consilio suæ nobilissimæ conjugis, quæ formidabat casum qui accidit, loco obsidis mirabilem thesaurum quem apud se ipsum conservabat clerico tribuit, diem statuens in quo fieret solutio debiti. P. 710.

^b Thesaurus autem iste desiderabilis compositus est in similitudinem insignis monilis quem Sanctus Eligius, venerabilis episcopus, honestate et in omni operationis artificio egregius, praecepto nutuque incliti Lotharii Regis Francorum manibus propriis operatus est. Lapis siquidem berillus in medio positus sculptum retinet, qualiter in Daniele Susanna senibus iudicibus male criminata sit, qui varietate sui operis diligentiam ostendit artis, et diligentia venustatem locupletis honoris. *Ibid.*

^c Dignitate siquidem thesauri denudatus, convicioque controversiæ et perversæ operationis graviter vexatus.

called together his relatives and retainers, and recounted to them the whole pitiful tale, not omitting to lay due stress upon the irony of the fate which had made him the victim of such execrable machinations.* A tenth-century audience of such a speech could not be expected to vote for other than drastic measures; and confirmed by the approval of his own people, Eilbert soon set out for Rheims at the head of an armed force. He obtained complete command of the city, apparently without encountering serious resistance; but when a call was made at the canon's house it was found that the ecclesiastic had prudently taken sanctuary in the great church. Eilbert was in no mood to be baffled a second time; his blood was up, and considerations which in calmer moments might have made him shrink from extremities could not now avail to stay his hand. A cordon was drawn round the church, and a search instituted within the sacred building; but all efforts proved fruitless, for the canon knew the nooks and corners of the edifice far better than any of his pursuers. Then it was that the reckless count gave orders to set the church on fire, and before long smoke and flames were rolling through the aisles. We may allow our fancy to picture the frightened canon holding out to the point of suffocation before bringing himself to leave his place of refuge; but at last the atmosphere grew too thick, and he was compelled to make a dash for safety. He ran straight into the arms of the count's men; and, sad to relate, the Crystal of Lothair was found concealed on his person.^b Count Eilbert had triumphed, but at the cost of a grievous act of sacrilege, for which, and perhaps for other lawless deeds committed in the past, Charles the Simple made war upon him. But fortune continued to follow his standard, for he took the king captive and shut him up in the castle at Péronne, where in later years Louis XI. lay at the mercy of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. In the end peace was concluded, and the count was left in undisturbed possession of the jewel. But after some years had passed, and the chill breath of age had cooled his hot blood, he began to repent of his violent deeds, and to compound for them by the foundation of religious houses. Seven monasteries rose through his munificence, one of them near his castle of Florennes; and to the church of this foundation he at last presented the

* *Exponens illis supradicti mercimonii conventum et sui venditoris execrabilis machinationis periculum, et atrocis fraudis miserabile ludibrium.*

^b *Et sic flammis urentibus ab ejusdem templi mœnibus ille fraudis commentator ejicitur, et dolus, qui antea versabatur clausus in ejus pectore, evidentibus indiciis in propatulo manifestatur. Nam thesaurus, quem dolosæ machinationis inventionem furtive deliberaverat retinere, ab eo auferitur, et cum detrimento Urbis et Ecclesie restituitur.*

jewel which had been the cause of so memorable an adventure." His charge that the crystal should be faithfully preserved in perpetuity was obeyed until the day when the approach of the French troops led to its hasty concealment and probably to its ultimate loss by those to whom it was in the hour of extremity entrusted. But there had been dangerous moments, as when the Abbot Godefroid, quarrelling with his monks in 960, threatened to present it to Rheims as an act of reparation for the ancient sacrilege;^b or when Godescale in 1072, seeking a present for the fiancée of a near relation, cast longing eyes upon some of Eilbert's gifts to the monastery.^c In each case the danger was happily averted, and the Crystal of Lothair remained undisturbed for long and peaceful years. We hear of it in the early part of the seventeenth century,^d and again 186 years later,^e as one of the notable treasures of Waulsort. Then came the French Revolution, bringing with it the ruin of the abbey, the dispersion of the monks, and the disappearance of the jewel for a period of fifty years. At last, at some time near the middle of the nineteenth century, it came to light again in the shop of a Belgian dealer, whose story was that it had been fished out of the Meuse. This may well have been true, for one of the fugitive monks may have thrown it into the water to prevent it from falling into unworthy hands. The dealer, unaware of its real value, disposed of it to a French collector for twelve francs,^f and it ultimately came into the possession of the English collector Mr. Bernal, at whose sale at Christie's in 1855 it was acquired by the British Museum for £267.

Most medieval bequests to churches tell a plain tale of piety or compunction, but this jewel has played a part in the lives of lawless and unregenerate men. It has excited cynical cunning and ungovernable revenge; it has called men to arms and been the cause of sacrilege. Possessed in peace for more than eight hundred years, it was driven from its refuge by the rumour of approaching wars, flung into a river, and sold for a song. After all these vicissitudes it has once more found a tranquil resting-place, and all who treasure such relics of a stirring past will join in the hope that no further wanderings await the Crystal of Lothair.

^a Et thesaurum superius memoratum, qui seditionis et controversie quondam causa fuit, et pro quo multa acciderant dedit eidem ecclesie, et inter alia ornamenta ipsum in ea præcipuum et excellentiorem præcepit in perpetuum per succedentia tempora non sequitur custodiri.

^b Bequet, *as above*, 6.

^c *Ibid.*

^d *Hierogazophylacium Belgicum, sive thesaurus sacrarum reliquiarum, auctore Arnoldo Raissio Belgio-Duaceno, ibidemque apud eodem Sancti Petri Canonico, anno 1628.*

^e *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, 1764, ii. 132.

^f A. Darcel, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xix. (1865) 130. A. Bequet, *as above*, 2.



CHURCH OF SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA (OVIEDO), SPAIN.
Interior view, looking East.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.

III.—*Some Post-Visigothic Churches in Spain.* By ARTHUR G. HILL, Esq.,
M.A., F.S.A.

Read 28th April, 1904.

THE comparatively few Englishmen who are well acquainted with the ancient churches of Spain know that this most fascinating country possesses a series of ecclesiastical buildings architecturally equal in most respects to the finest examples in France, and infinitely superior to those of Italy; while no others in Europe are so rich in woodwork, ironwork, decorative furniture, and other works of art, often of the most magnificent description, and which, in very many cases, remain in their original state to this day. Spanish art is, moreover, a native art, and is largely independent of, though certainly influenced by, the workmen of more northerly countries.

It is not my intention, however, to describe any of the great medieval churches of the Spanish Peninsula, but to call attention to four of the earliest extant examples, three of the ninth and one of the tenth century, which illustrate the architecture of Spain after the Visigothic but anterior to the Romanesque period.

Buildings of the former epoch are, of course, very rare. There are two churches only that I know of belonging to the Visigothic period, namely, that of San Ronan de Hornija, near Zamora, dating from 646; and that of San Juan de Baños, near Venta de Baños, built in 661; though there are various fragmentary remains elsewhere in the north of Spain, illustrating the richness of this school of architecture.

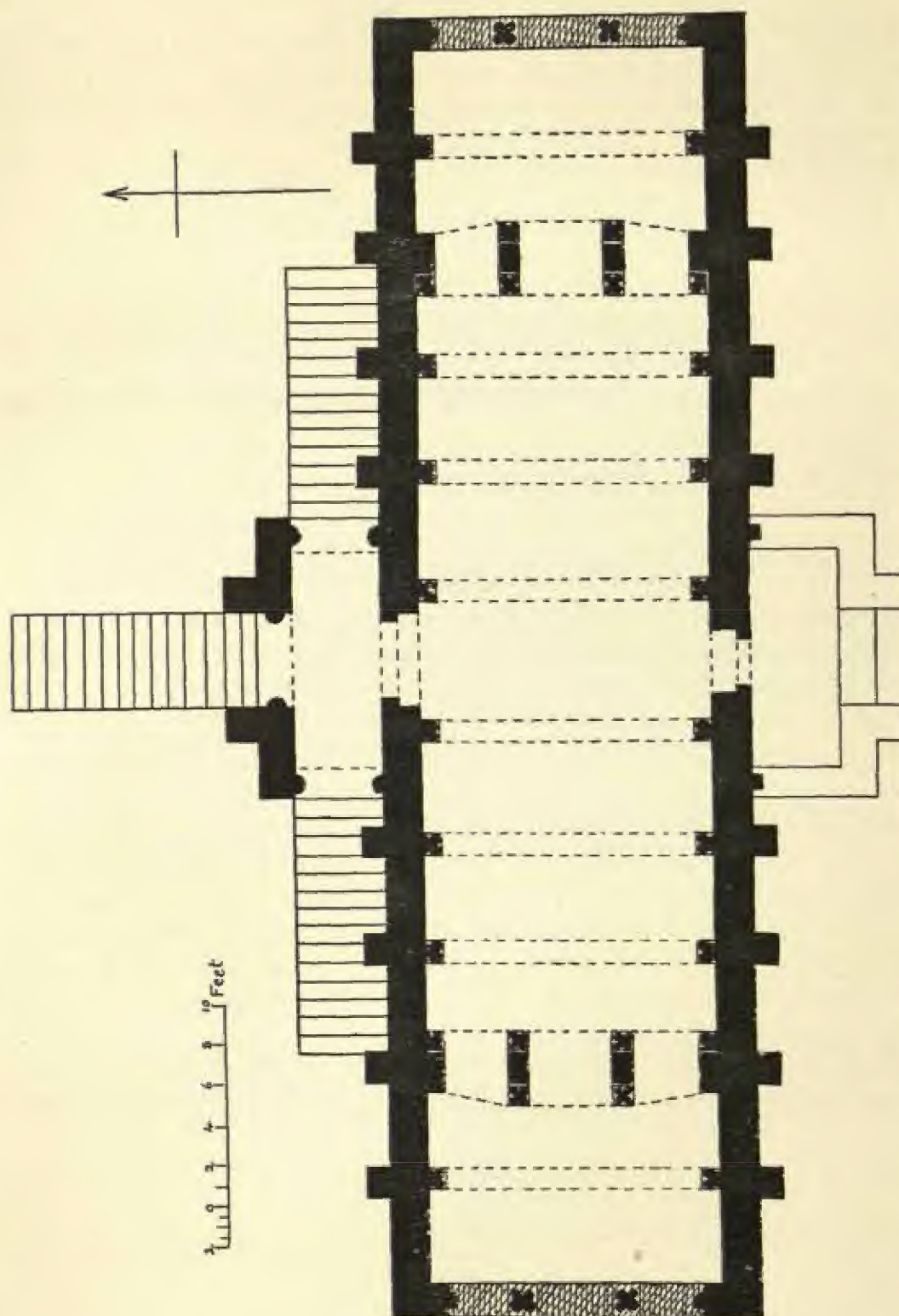


Fig. 1. Plan of the Church of Santa Maria Naranco.

Subsequent to these two remarkable examples there are, I believe, no others of antiquity till we come to the four which it is the purpose of this paper to describe, and which may be referred to the class known to Spanish antiquaries as Latino-Byzantine.

The first is the church of

SANTA MARIA NARANCO,

in the province of Oviedo, and but two or three miles away from the city of that name.

This building comes first in point of date, being undoubtedly as early as the middle of the ninth century, and also because there is a question whether it was originally built as a church, or whether it is not part of the palace of Ramiro I., king of Asturias, who certainly erected such in this place, together with the extant church of S. Miguel de Lino.

A careful examination of the structure causes me to incline to the view of Don J. Amador de los Rios,* that this was originally a secular and not a sacred building; moreover I think documentary evidence which will be adduced proves this point sufficiently well; but as it can be shown that it has been used as a church at any rate since A.D. 905, this fact has led some who have examined the question to consider that it was never used for other purposes than Christian worship.

The plan of the church (Fig. 1) is very unusual, and does not conform with contemporary liturgical arrangements. It consists of a simple rectangular building about 20 feet wide by 72 feet long, the two extremities being divided from the central nave by walls each carried on three arches, with their supporting columns, thus forming two separate chambers; the eastern of which is used for the altar, and the western for no special purpose at the present time. The latter is reached by three steps from the nave.

The whole is covered by a round barrel vault, with transverse arches or large ribs, while the walls are arcaded symmetrically on both sides of the church.

There is a porch, approached by three flights of steps, on the north side

* *Monumentos Arquitectonicos*, published by the Spanish Government.

(Fig. 2); and remains of a similar arrangement on the south, where now stands the house of the *cura*.

Below is an undercroft or crypt, extending the full length of the church, with a massive semicircular vault.

This remarkable building was designed by the architect Fioda or Tioda, a man of much repute in the reigns of Alonso el Casto and Ramiro I., and who built the cathedral church of San Salvador at Oviedo (which was demolished in 1388 to make room for the present church), and also the churches of S. Maria and S. Tirso, and others.*



Fig. 2. Church of Santa Maria Naranco. North elevation.

The following inscription which establishes the date of this church in the *Æra* 886, that is A.D. 848, was discovered in connection with the altar some years ago:

Ingressus est sine humana conceptione et egressus sine corruptione. . . . Qui
vivis et regnas per infinita sæcula sæculorum VIII Kalendas. Julius *Æra* DCCCLXXXVI.

* *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España*, por S. D. Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, y Cean Bermudez (Madrid, 1829).

The early Spanish inscriptions are usually dated from the *Æra*, namely B.C. 38, or the fourth year of Augustus Cæsar; the name, of course, arising from the payment of the *æra* or taxes.

Now the church of S. Maria is referred to in ancient records as one of great splendour and beauty, as by Bishop Sebastian, who, as Oean Bermudez remarks: "dice que no se hallaria en España edificio que se pudiese comparar a ella." Bishop Sebastian, under date A.D. 886, writes: "Interea Supradictus Rex (Ranimirus) ecclesiam condidit in memoriam Sanctæ Mariæ . . . miræ pulchritudinis, perfectique decoris; et ut alia decoris ejus taceam cum pluribus centreis fornaceis si concamerata sola calce et lapide constructa: cui si aliquis ædificium consimilare voluerit in Hispaniam non inveniet."^a

Again, the monk Albelda states: "In locum Ligno dicto Ecclesiam et Palatiam arte fornicea mirè construxit."^b

It is clear, therefore, that Ramiro built a church and a palace; while at present there remains no palace, but two churches, that of S. Maria which we are discussing, and that of S. Miguel de Lino, close by, to which we shall presently refer.

For these reasons Señor de los Rios and others conclude that S. Maria Naranco was originally the palace of Ramiro, and especially because in A.D. 905 the palace was converted to Christian use by a charter of Alfonso III. El Magno,^c granting the property to the Chapter of Oviedo.

Ambrosio de Morales, in his travels in 1572, found the palaces of Ramiro in ruins, while the two churches, S. Maria and S. Miguel, were entire, "Aquellos duran enteros y con buena firmeza, y está la casa ya caída."^d

On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that the balance of evidence is in favour of the secular origin of S. Maria, relying chiefly upon the architectural plan, and upon the charter of Alfonso.

At any rate, for a thousand years this building has been used as a church, and is a monument of venerable Christian antiquity, and one of the most interesting in Spain as a relic of the Asturian monarchy.

^a *Chronicon Sebastiani*, cited by Florez in *España Sagrada*.

^b *Chronicon Albeldense*, *ibid.*

^c *España Sagrada*.

^d *Viaje a los Reynos de Leon y Galicia y Principado de Asturias para reconocer Las Reliquias de Santos Sepulcros Reales*, etc. (Reprinted, Madrid, 1765), 103.

We now pass to the consideration of the church of

SAN MIGUEL DE LINO,

which stands solitary on the mountain side about a quarter of a mile from Naranco.

The plan of this building (Figs. 3 and 4) is entirely different from that of S. Maria, and no doubt exists as to its ecclesiastical origin.

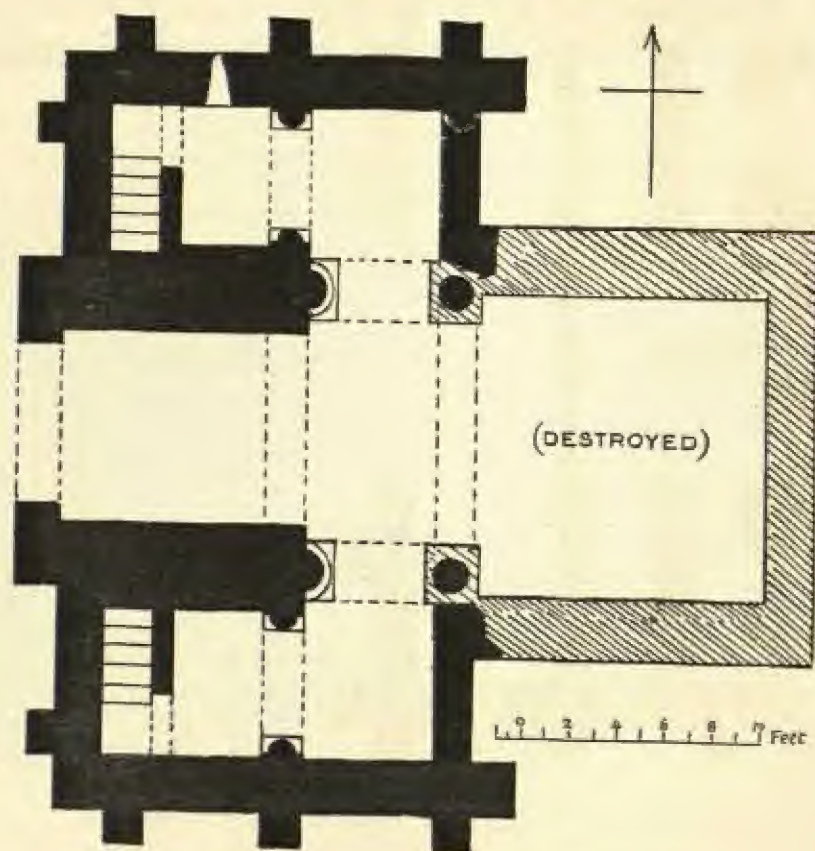


Fig. 3. Plan of the Church of San Miguel de Lino, Ground floor.

The eastern end is unfortunately in ruins, and a portion of this extremity is gone, and has been built up in modern times to exclude the weather.

This church is a fine and very rich example of the Latino-Byzantine architecture of the Asturias, and is coeval with S. Maria.

It is cruciform in plan, and is in many ways remarkable.

There are four circular piers at the crossing, with square caps, richly sculptured (Fig. 6); and there is a gallery or *coro* at the west end, approached by flights of steps leading from chambers north and south. There are also curious small chambers leading from the gallery itself, on either side.

The dimensions are insignificant, the church being about 23 feet wide across transepts, and 33 feet total internal length.

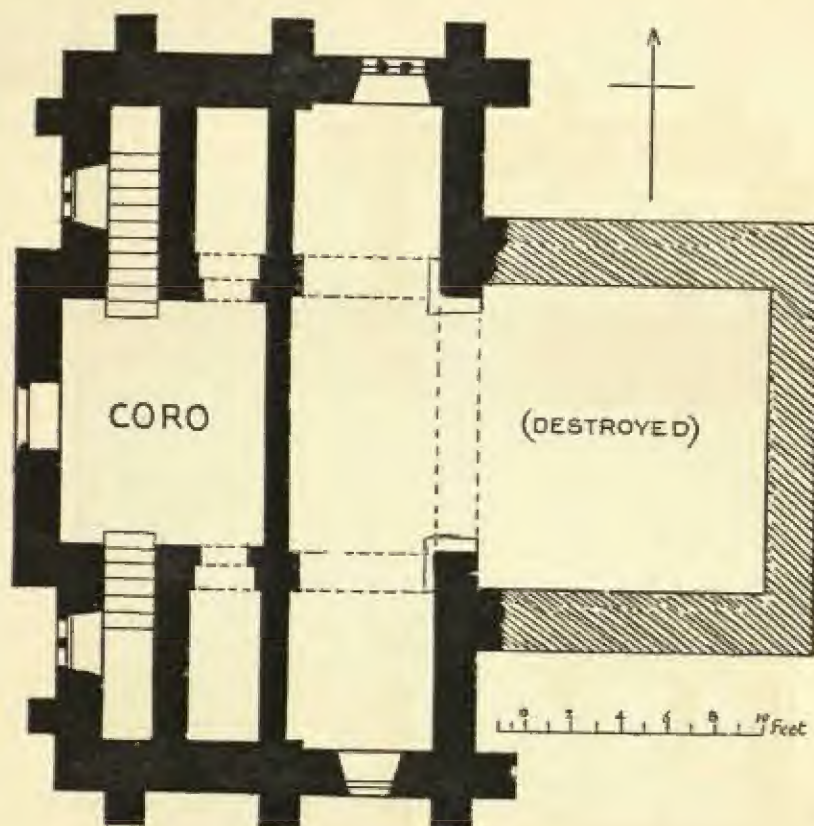


Fig. 4. Plan of the Church of San Miguel de Lino. Upper Floor.

The sculptures of the jambs of the western portal, of other capitals in the church, and many traces of ancient decoration, all prove that the architect Tioda was at special pains to enrich the fabric of this royal foundation.

In the ninth century this place is referred to . . . In latere montis Naurantii villam qui dicitur Lino . . . et ecclesiam etiam Sancti Michaelis et Sanctæ Mariæ subtus Naurantium."*

* *España Sagrada*, xxxvii. 323.

In 877, at the second Council of Oviedo, the king assigned special churches for the benefit of those bishops who had fled into the mountains of the Asturias from the incursions of the Moors; and this church of S. Miguel was given to the bishop of Huesca.

Alfonso El Magno, in 900, enriched the church greatly: "Tradimus—insuper sub Naranco Montis Eccles. Sancti Vicentii cum exitu per totam Narancum, cum



Fig. 5. Church of San Miguel de Lino, from the west.

pumario magno integro circumvallato undique, empta quingentis solidis argenti purissimi—Ex alia parte ipsius montis Lino cum palatiis balneis et Ecclesia Sti. Michaelis cum pumario magno circumvallato.”*

* *España Sagrada*, xxxvii. 330.

The church must have been in a considerable state of glory even as late as the sixteenth century, for Morales, who saw it then, says: "Toda la labor es lisa, y sola hay de requeza doce marmoles, algunos de buen jaspe, y porfido, un que se forma el Crucero, Altar Major, y sus partes, que todas son de Fabrica Gothica, aunque rienen bien del Romano."^a

Twelve columns are here described, of which six only now remain, the others having been destroyed which formed the wall arcades of the presbytery.

Morales observes that the high altar in all the churches of Asturias and Galicia stands separate from the wall, which seems to him worthy of record, "el altar mayor de todas las iglesias de Asturias y Galicia no se hallaba arrimado á la pared sino algo desviado."^b

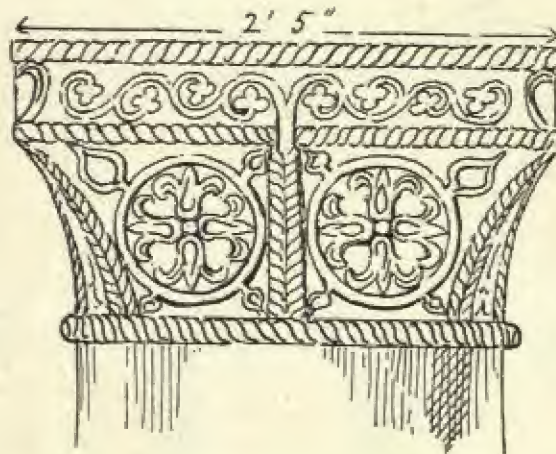


Fig. 6. Church of San Miguel de Lino. Capital of Pier at Crossing.

The Jesuit Carvalho, also, in 1694, found the building perfect.^c

Regarding the western gallery, or upper storey, I am disposed to think that this may be regarded as reserved for the use of women, similar to the *gynæconitis* or lateral gallery seen in many of the ancient oriental churches.

There was originally, most probably, an arcaded screen or triumphal arch to the presbytery, such as remains in the sister church of Santa Cristina de Lena, to be next described.

The windows are sometimes plain square openings, but in some cases are

^a *Viage*, 102.

^b *Ibid.* 119.

^c *Antigüedades de Asturias*.

filled with Byzantine-like traceries, called by the Arab name of *ajimez* (or sun light windows), in which oriental feeling is strongly marked.

The church of San Miguel is now disused, but is, I believe, under the care of the Government, who will, it is to be hoped, carefully guard such an architectural treasure.*

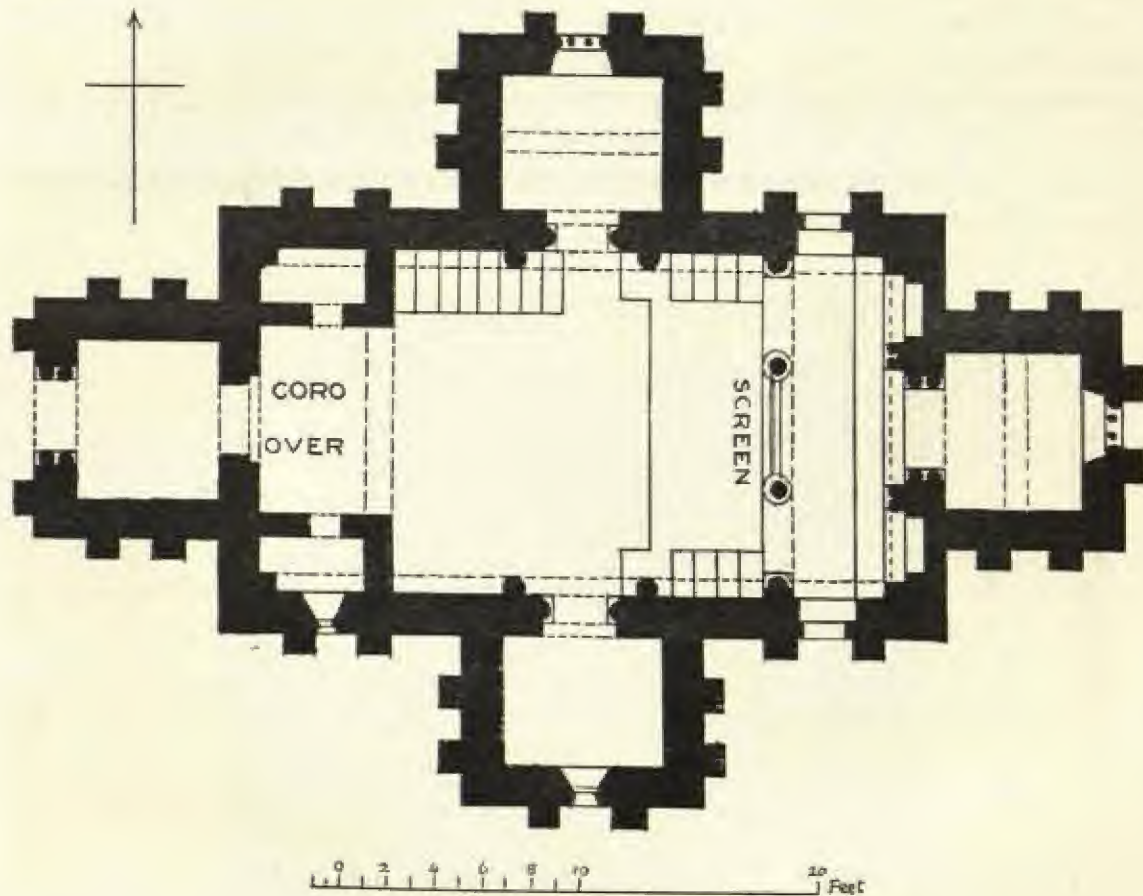


Fig. 7. Plan of the Church of Santa Cristina de Lena.

The next church to which I wish to call attention is that of

SANTA CRISTINA DE LENA,

in the same district, but about 15 miles south of Oviedo.

This extremely interesting and almost perfect building bears considerable

* See also, for further reference to Naranco and S. Miguel, Piferrer, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España*.

resemblance to that of S. Miguel, and is of nearly the same date, namely the middle of the ninth century. It belongs to the class known as hermitage churches, and stands solitary on the side of the beautiful valley of the Campomanes, accompanied by only a few cottages.

It is believed to have been erected by Don Alonso el Magno about the year 870, and the architect was also, probably, Tioda.

The arrangements generally resemble those of S. Miguel de Lino, but the plan is perfect, and is distinguished by the original screen with its altar, and the tiny presbytery, with raised sanctuary and second altar, behind. (Fig. 7.)

There is but one entrance, at the west, and the nave is reached by passing under the western gallery, as at S. Miguel.

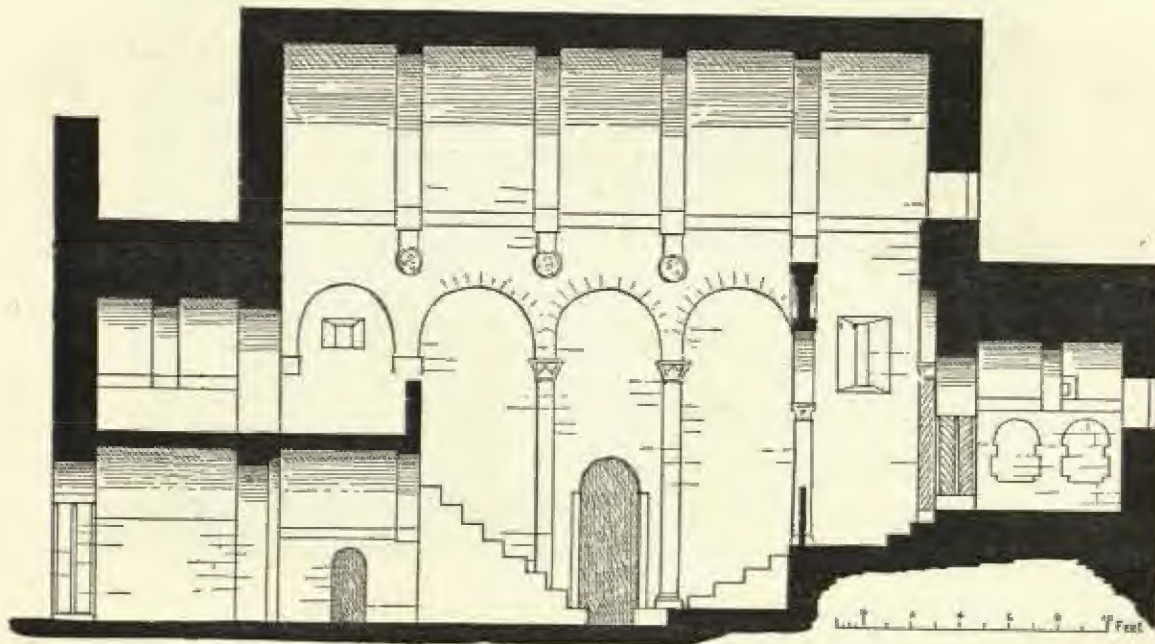


Fig. 8. Longitudinal section, looking north, of the Church of Santa Cristina de Lena.

At the east end is the presbytery, raised about 4 feet above the nave, and divided from it by a remarkable screen, or wall carried on three open arcades, of the type known as *transennæ* in the earlier Christian churches of Rome. (Plate II.)*

* This illustration is reproduced from a plate given in his monograph on the repair of the church by Don Juan Bautista Lázaro, *Ermíta de Santa Cristina en Lena (Oviedo)*, Madrid, 1894.

From the nave two flights of stone steps lead to the narrow platform of the presbytery, beyond which is the diminutive sanctuary.

North and south are very small transepts, while the remarkable feature is again exhibited in the western gallery or tribune, which is approached from the nave by a flight of steps on the north side, this gallery being terminated at either end by small chambers of uncertain purpose. (See section, fig. 8.)

The church is thus a cruciform structure of very regular and symmetrical plan, the walls being strengthened by thirty-two buttresses; while the interior is lighted by small square openings, a few of which possess the *ajimez* tracery.

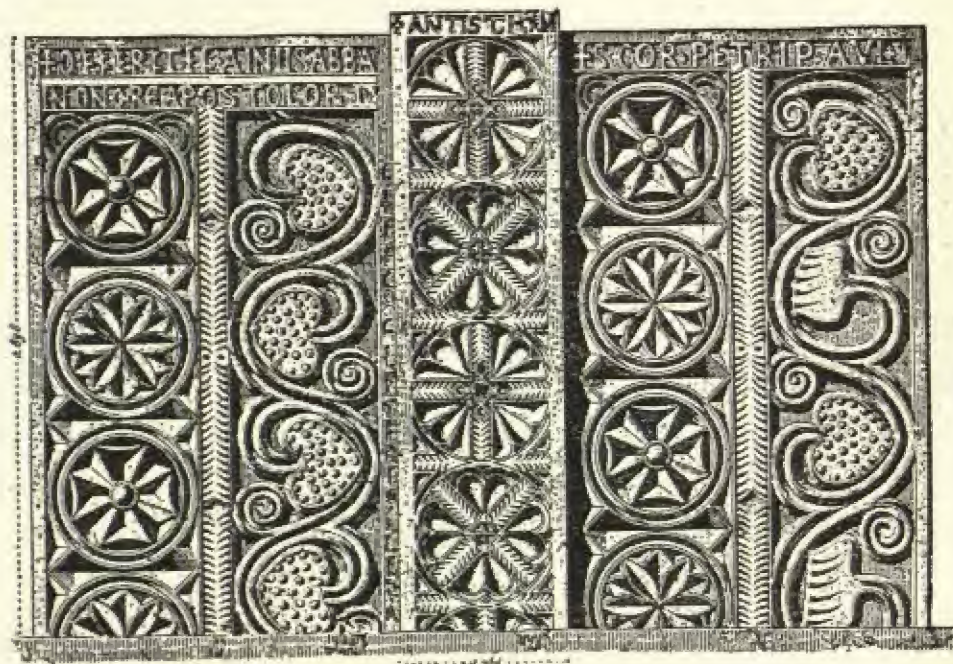


Fig. 9. Marble *antepecho* in the Church of Santa Cristina de Lena.

The remarkable screen of the presbytery is of a decidedly eastern type, and is ornamented with five pierced slabs of marble, of archaic design, Byzantine art being also clearly traceable in the sculptured capitals of the columns.

In the centre of the screen is a highly interesting *antepecho*, or altar piece of marble (fig. 9), richly sculptured in its five compartments, and bearing the inscriptions :

+ OFFERET FLAINUS ABBA
IN ONORE APOSTOLOR D
+ S-COR·PETRI PAVLI

While in the centre is the word

+ ANTISTITAM

This abbot Flainus was, it appears, the founder of the church, and he who was afterwards Bishop of Oviedo.

The word *antistita*, being feminine, is used by Plautus and others to denote a priestess, and must here, therefore, mean an abbess, the inscription being possibly capable of the following expansion * relative to Santa Cristina, though I have been unable to trace her name in any martyrology :

Offeret Flainus Abba(s) in honore Apostolorum
Dei Sanctorum Petri (et) Pauli Antistitam
(Christi Martyris Electam).

Thus Ducange^b under the word *Antistita* states "Abbatissa, in veteri Charta quam laudat Hieron. Hennengius in Geneal. Rhetiae Curiensis Principis"; while of *Antistes* he says: "Hoc honoris nomen non Episcopis solum et Abbatibus, sed quandoque etiam Prioribus et Parochis datum fuisse norunt, qui antiqua legerunt instrumenta."

Also in the Chant 89 of the *Himnario Hispano-Latino-Visigodo*, relating to the martyr Geroncio :

Sacratum Christi Antistitem
Ierontium Confessorem
Dignis canamus laudibus, etc.

I must observe that this church has been "restored" of recent years, but in a manner which does credit to the *Ministerio de Fomento*, or government authority; for the report of the Director-General of Public Instruction, which I have read, describes the monument as in a very serious state twenty years ago, and the work has undoubtedly been carried out in a most conservative manner, the masonry showing very few signs of modernizing, and hardly any scraping or removal of weather stains.

The stone barrel vault, however, is modern, and though a correct reproduction of the original design, is to be regretted on general grounds affecting the treatment of ancient buildings. The external roofs are necessarily modern also.

* *Vide* S. D. A. de los Rios in *Monumen. Arquitect.*

^b *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (editio nova, Niort, 1883), i. 303.

"Restoration" in Spain is, happily, very rare, owing to the excellent condition of most of the ancient buildings, and to the climate which favours their preservation; while money is fortunately difficult to raise for such a purpose.

I may mention, however, the very able reparation of a large portion of the cathedral church of León, a matter which had become an absolute necessity owing to the giving way of the beautiful structure designed by a somewhat hazardous French architect of the thirteenth century, and which is quite the best example of a necessary evil which I have seen on the Continent.

The fourth and last church to which I shall refer is that of

SANTIAGO DE PEÑALVA,

a building of great interest, and one, in fact, *sui generis*, being the only example in Spain of a church in pure *Mudejar* style, and built as such by a Moorish architect, who was probably a Christian.

The Latino-Byzantine churches we have been discussing doubtless derive their distinctive character and decoration in large measure through the Arab invasion of A.D. 711, and to the Byzantine forms of architecture brought from the East by the Moors; but here we have a church in the purely native or Moorish style, and one which is unique in the Peninsula.

This church is situated in the romantic and beautiful district known as the Vierzo or Bierzo, in the province of León, and I think that some account of this little known spot, and of its ruined monasteries, will not be here out of place.

The excursion to Peñalva well repays the antiquary possessing a love of the romantic and an appreciation of nature as well as of art, and is best made from the little town of Ponferrada, which place is some 25 miles from the ancient city of Astorga.

The journey should certainly be undertaken in the saddle, that is to say, on the back of the invaluable and patient Spanish donkey, as travelling would otherwise be extremely fatiguing, the place being reached only by rough mountain paths, which become at times mere stony tracks.

It was by this means that I and my companion visited the monasteries of the Vierzo, a mountainous district, some 29 miles square, south of the Asturian range, and the source of the beautiful River Sil and its attendant streams.

This is the *Bergidum Flavium* of the ancients, and in the early Middle Ages

the seat of monasticism.* It is little known to the ordinary Spaniard, and is altogether out of the tourist's beat, being almost as inaccessible and isolated now as it was centuries ago. It was here that the famous San Fructuoso arose, and here where the monks lived in peace, till the Moorish invasion drove them forth, to be re-established in the ninth century by San Gennadio, when this district became almost wholly given up to religious retreat.

In the later Middle Ages a change seems to have come over the scene, and the monks departed elsewhere; and at present the monastic remains are principally illustrated by more or less ruinous and unoccupied buildings.

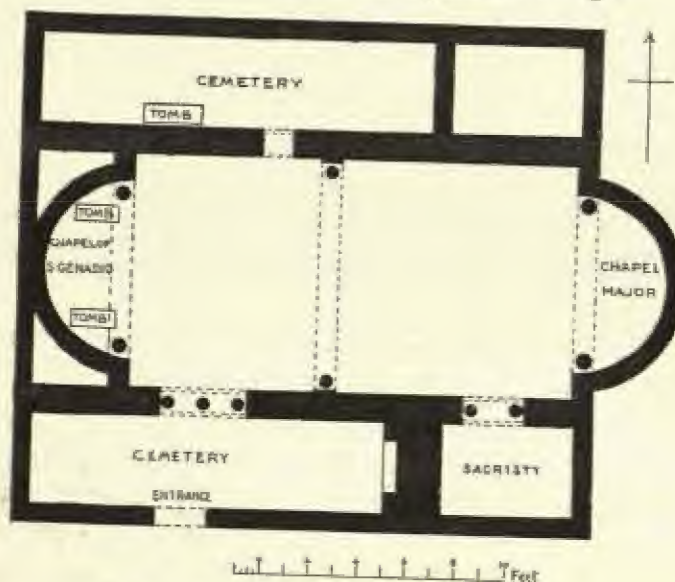


Fig. 10. Plan of the Church of Santiago de Peñalba.

Accompanied by our guide, and a boy carrying provisions in his saddle-bag, we rode out from Ponferrada and began the ascent of the mountains.

The valleys we traversed were narrow, and beautifully wooded, and rushing streams crossed our path at frequent intervals, which had either to be forded or, when too deep, to be crossed by rough log bridges.

We rode under the shade of magnificent walnut-trees, and along steep and tortuous paths amid a profusion of wild flowers; and after some hours of passing through enchanting scenery, rising higher and higher in the mountains, covered in places with masses of white heather, and obtaining superb views, we arrived

* "El nombre que mantiene el territorio en latin es el antiguo *Bergidum*, voz de una poblacion nombrada por Ptolomeo en la *Asturia* con el dictado de *Flavium*." *España Sagrada*, xvi. 28.

towards evening at San Pedro de Montes, the retreat of San Fructuoso in the early part of the seventh century.

This is the *Monasterium Rufanense* mentioned by the abbot San Valerio, some sixty years later: "In finibus Bergidensis territorii juxta quoddam castellum, cujus vetustas conditorum nomen edidit Rupiana, est hoc monasterium, inter Excelsorum Alpium convallia à Sanctæ memoriæ beatissimo Fructuoso olim fundatum."^a

The monastic church here is embowered in trees, and is an interesting building of the twelfth century, doubtless on the site of that originally built by San Fructuoso and re-established by San Gennadio.

There is a *coro* in the west gallery, fitted with proper *silleria* or choir seats, and the usual arrangement of the *coro* in the nave below.

The wooden screens, or *rejas*, are late but curious, and the whole church is in a decaying condition. The adjacent monastic buildings are in ruins.

San Fructuoso founded other monasteries in Spain, and eventually became bishop of Dume in Portugal. He is buried in the cathedral church of Santiago at Compostella.

San Gennadio died here, and left behind him a curious library, which was in existence in the time of Morales,^b but has now disappeared.

There is an inscription in the cloister, which is quoted by Morales, and still exists, stating that San Fructuoso founded an oratory here, and that San Gennadio restored the establishment in the era 933, or A.D. 895.

It is as follows :

INSIGNE MERITUS BEATUS FRUCTUOSUM POSTQUAM COMPLUTENSE CONDIDIT CENOBIIUM
NOMINE SANCTI PETRI, BREVI OPERE IN HOC LOCO FECIT ORATORIUM. . . . NOVISSIMI
GENNADIUS RESTAURAVIT ERA DCCCXXXIII. PONTIFEX EFFECTUS A FUNDAMENTIS
MIRIFICE, UT CERNITUR, DENUO EREXIT. NON OPRESSIONE VULGI SED LARGITATE PRETHII
ET SUDORE FRATRUM HUIUS MONASTERII. CONSECRATUM EST HOC TEMPLUM AB EPISCOPIS
QUATUOR. GENNADIO AUSTORICENSE, SABARICO DUMIENSE, FRONIMIO LEGIONENSE, ET
DULCIDIO SALMANTICENSE, SUB ERA NOVIS CENTENA, DECIES QUINA, TERNA ET QUATERNA
NONO KAL NOVEMBRIS.

Leaving this romantic spot, with its hallowed associations, a further ride of four miles through superb scenery brought us to the little hamlet of Peñalva, beautifully placed overlooking a valley descending from the peaks of the Sierra

^a *España Sagrada*, xvi. 34.

^b See *Viage*.

de Aguiana. The high white cliffs opposite are those from which the name of the hamlet is derived.

Here we stayed the night, being glad to share with Sr. Gonzalez, the parish *cura*, the hospitality of his single room.

Early next morning we explored the church of Santiago, close to the priest's house, and now several feet below the surrounding ground.

It should here be remarked that this secluded place was founded by San Gennadio in A.D. 895, when he repaired the disasters caused earlier by the Moors, and lived in his monastery here till he became bishop of Astorga.

He, however, returned to Peñalva, where he died, and it was in memory of his great predecessor that Bishop Saloman, between A.D. 931 and 951, built the present church, in order to contain the bones of San Gennadio.

As Florez remarks: "El sucesor no prosiguió aquella obra, por no reputar conveniente el lugar; y edificó el monasterio en mejor sitio, que es llamando hoy *Santiago de Peñalva*. . . La obra que el sucesor de Fortis levantó fue junto à la de Santiago, erigiendo un Templo magnifico y symetria, y materia de marmoles, de que son las columnas; con tal disposicion, que la sepultura de S. Gennadio quedase dentro de la Iglesia nueva en una Capilla correspondiente à la mayor, y esta es la que se llama Santiago de Peñalva." *

The church, which is coeval with the celebrated mosque at Cordoba, is entirely Saracenic in style, and of singular interest. It is about 40 feet long only, by about 20 feet broad, and is divided into two nearly equal parts by a horse-shoe arch, the nave roof being a round vault, and that over the *coro* or chancel, flat, and of greater height, to form a *cimborio* or lantern.

At each end of the building is an apse, separated from the nave and *coro* by horse-shoe arches.

The jamb shafts of the arches, as also those of the doorways, are all of marble, with sculptured caps of Byzantine character.

The entrance is on the south, the church being enclosed on both sides by a cemetery, which is roofed over to form external aisles or cloisters; concerning which Florez remarks: "Cercada de un cemeterio que abraza toda la Iglesia al rededor, desde la Capilla Mayor abajo, y el cemeterio es cerrado y cubierto, à modo de claustro, donde se hazen los entierros."

In the western apse are the plain tombstones of San Gennadio and San Urbano, though most of the relics of the former were moved in the seventeenth century to Astorga, and to the convent of La Laura at Valladolid.

* *España Sagrada*, xvi. 38.

^b *Ibid.*

We were, however, shown the arm of the saint in a reliquary, and a few other relics.

On the north is the tomb of Abbat Stephen, with the inscription :

Stephanus famulus Dei Franco
Quando migravit de hoc seculo
Orate pro eo.

and a long series of verses beginning :

Clauditur in Christo Sub marmore Stephanus isto
Abbas egregius moribus Eximius

and ending with the date Era MCLXX. or A.D. 1132.

The church also bears the interesting inscription :

In Era CXLIII post millesimam et VII Idus Martias consecrata est hæc ecclesia
in honorem Sancti Jacobi Apostoli et plurimorum.

which shows that the building was reconsecrated in A.D. 1105.

The church is practically in the same condition as it has been for the past thousand years, and produces a solemn impression upon the spectator who travels to this solitary mountain spot.

There is a bell cote, with two bells of great antiquity, which I strongly suspect to be nearly as old as the church itself.

In the sacristy is a silver processional cross of the thirteenth century, and of great beauty; but little else of value.

After a morning's investigation of this interesting place we set out on our return journey, and rode to the end spurs of the sierras, from whence there is a magnificent view of the plain below; and from here we gradually descended by another route to Ponferrada, passing through several quaint hamlets associated with the hagiology of the Vierzo. *Brundisium longæ finis chartæque viæque.*

NOTE.—Antiquaries are referred, for further details concerning the Asturias and Galicia, to the following works :

Licenciado Molina, *Descripcion del Reyno de Galizia*. In verse. Mondoñedo, 1551.

J. T. Villademoros, *Asturias ilustrada*, 11 vols. Madrid, 1760.

J. Villa—Amil y Castro, *Rudimentos de Arq. Sag.* Lugo, 1867.

J. de Mariana, *Historia General de España*. Madrid, 1650.

G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccles. de las Yglesias de España*.

Ponz, *Viage de España*.

J. Villanueva, *Viage litterario a las iglesias de España*.

IV.—*The Hauberk of Chain Mail, and its Conventional Representations.* By
J. G. WALLER, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 5th May, 1904.

THE subject I now bring before you is by no means a new one; so it is not my intention to go too much over ground already occupied. But the numerous conventional forms by which chain mail has been represented have led to many errors of interpretation, and especially in the articles by Sir Samuel Meyrick in *Archaeologia*,* which are still quoted as authorities, so that I have long felt it was required for that accuracy which is now looked for in all antiquarian studies, that the subject should be revived and discussed. I have had the matter before me for half a century, so cannot therefore be accused of too much hurry in inflicting upon you that which might be thought unnecessary. I should have hesitated in my early days to oppose myself to so high an authority as Meyrick, whose learning and research had done so much to place the history of armour on a firmer basis than it ever had been before, but it was not until I had studied monumental effigies, brasses, and medieval manuscripts that I felt there was considerable doubt as to many of his conclusions. Yet it must here be noted that he himself frequently expresses the same doubts. I think it due to him to mention this, especially as having been personally acquainted with him and enjoyed his hospitality, when I am now about to assail his arguments in the articles referred to, even to removing the terms given from the history of armour.

One of the most important points in this, as in many others of an artistic character, is the study of conventions. Conventional representation is often the degeneration of an artist's style, resulting in a kind of receipt, and this always takes place when an inferior hand attempts the characteristics of a great genius, as is very manifest in those who followed Michael Angelo. It was by not sufficiently comprehending conventions that led Sir Samuel Meyrick into erroneous

* Vol. xix.

conclusions; but I could quote others who have criticised him, and yet have fallen into similar errors. The danger is also enhanced when appeal is made to various poetical expressions to determine the character of structure, when the same thing may be intended though different words are used. "The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling" is not perhaps in a condition to see accurately what is required by the archæologist, whom he would doubtless consider to be a very lowly creature.

Although the question of the use and character of interlaced chain mail has been a good deal treated by able hands, yet the ground is not quite cleared of many details which I intend to place before you. In Meyrick's time we had not the full evidence of its great antiquity, which can now be seen in the Assyrian Room at the British Museum, to which examples I shall presently refer, as it bears upon the origin of this ingenious flexible defence for the human body, viz. four rings united with a fifth, whose history goes back to a remote antiquity as used by warlike races even to our own time. Every one who has studied the question will admit that no other flexible defence, that was not easier in its manufacture and superior in result, would ever have superseded chain mail where known. This is very important to remember, and it is also noted by Meyrick himself.

In his articles, to which I have referred, he classes early defensive armour into trelliced, ringed, masceled, single mail, double-chain mail, and it is my intention to show that all these are one and the same, viz. the interlaced chain mail. I had long thought that these different terms had been set aside, but in the useful handbook of Demmin, as well as in other writers, some of these are still referred to, it is therefore quite time that the question involved be set at rest, and thus I appear before you as seeking more simplicity in pulling down erroneous superstructure. And first let us examine the conventions.

The types of interlaced chain mail found in monumental brasses do not differ materially from those in effigies. Fig. 1, No. 1, from that of Sir John Daubernoun, 1277, is intended to represent construction, yet is conventional, by having the rings larger than could be used. No. 2, from Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289, I may call the sketchy mode, consisting merely of curves. No. 3 is similar, but contained within lines, which some have thought might represent wires, an impossible mode of construction. No. 4 is remarkable, and is only found in two brasses of the same date, 1347, viz. those of Sir Hugh Hastings and Sir John Wanton, both doubtless of French workmanship. No. 5 is a later type of fifteenth and sixteenth century, in which the curves are connected together. The ruder construction in early effigies also show this form, which Meyrick called "single mail." No. 6 is from the incised slab of Simon de

Montfort, 1216, at Carcassonne, France, represented by zigzag lines, the strangest of all. Yet the coif is carried out by another convention, though obviously meaning the same thing; nor is this the only instance in which two conventional representations appear together on same monument.

I have shown sketches of contiguous rings as in the Bayeux tapestry, as well as in other examples in MSS. of the eleventh century, and side by side a sketch made by myself where the set of the mail is not far off the convention. In fact, mail assumes various appearances in what I call the *set* of the mail, as well as by

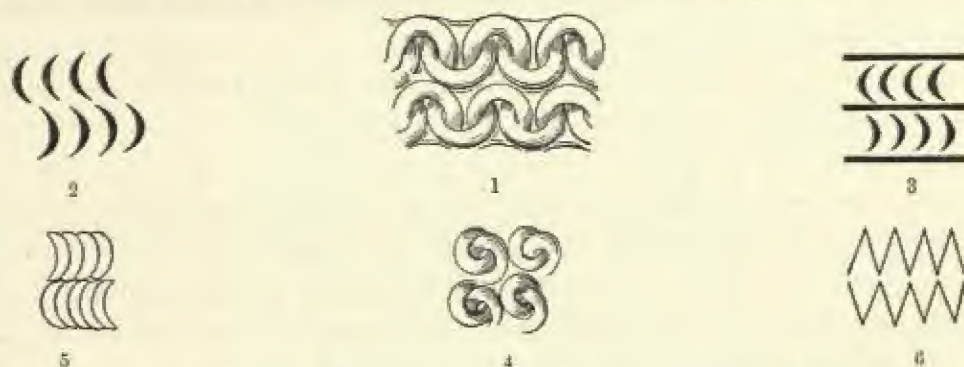


Fig. 1. Conventional representations of chain-mail from monumental brasses.

light and shade, which might easily be illustrated by artists' sketches, and thus in some sort justify the conventions of medieval times.

I shall now take up one by one the subdivisions set forth by Meyrick, and first as to "trelliced."

TRELICED.

The text upon which Meyrick relied for this term was taken from the *Roman de Garin* thus:

En son dos vest une Broigne trelice

Also from the *Roman de Gaydon*:

L'escu li perce, et la Broigne treslit.

He then proceeds to interpret the word "trelice" by an appeal to the seal of David, Earl of Huntley (eleventh century), where the body armour is represented as consisting of cross-pieces placed angularly, and having in the middle a round knot or stud. But he concludes his argument thus: "But of what the trelliced work was composed I have as yet found nothing that leads to a conjecture."

It is unfortunate that Sir Samuel should use the term "trelice" in the narrow sense of its modern application, for if we pursue it through the French and its Latin original we find it means that which is closely woven together. In his learned treatise on the *lorica catena* of the Romans* he quotes the *Æneid*, in which the word appears :

Loricam consortam hamis, auroque trilicem.

Also in *Silius Italicus* :

. . . . textam nodis auroque trilicem
Loricam.

It is clear from these passages that *loricam trilicem* cannot be interpreted in the form Meyrick has proposed, even if there were no other reasons to be advanced. But I do not think it necessary to trouble you with any philology on the subject when I can go more directly into the question, and show how the word "trelice," as applied to armour, has been used by an old French writer. In the *Fabliaux ou Contes* of the twelfth and thirteenth century, edited by Mons. Le Grand, the first story, "La mule sans frein," has a note on the word hauberk, which is described fully up to the following passage :

Afin d'empêcher les impressions que ce trellis de fer devait laisser sur la peau, on avait soin de se matalasser en dessous.

Thus we find it is the interlaced chain mail which is meant by the expressive term trellice, which quite agrees with its structural character. The mode of treatment in such small objects as seals, where the entire hauberk is under an inch in long diameter, could never represent structure, and the cross-hatching referred to appears in several examples, and singularly enough in a recent woodcut in the *Pall Mall Magazine* it represents mailed knights. I may here take note that the term "broigne" would not necessarily mean a hauberk of chain mail when used alone, as it might be equally applied to scaled armour of iron, but the term "trelice" added to it settles the question.

RINGED.

This is described by Sir Samuel Meyrick as consisting of "flat rings of steel placed contiguous to each other on a quilted linen tunic." He cites several

* *Archæologia*, xix. 335-352.

examples from Saxon and Norman MSS. in the British Museum, and lastly the Bayeux tapestry. In the argument I am taking up it is impossible to admit conclusions which are arrived at from rude conventions so deceptive. I go at once to the suggested mode of construction, and ask what kind of flexible tunic could be made in such a fashion without an extraordinary amount of labour, and the strength of which would mainly depend on the material upon which the rings were sown. All is conjectural, arising, as I can show, from a misconception of conventional representations. It is remarkable that in a picture in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1901 (794) by the Hon. John Collier, entitled the "Venusberg," a kneeling knight in armour of the fifteenth century shows a skirt of mail in which the interlacing is so slightly given that it looks like a number of contiguous rings. Now, when we find this in the work of an artist of considerable ability, not only does it explain the past, but it takes from us a condemnatory criticism on the rudely instructed artist of the eleventh century.

MASCLE.

The authorities given by Meyrick for establishing the maculated hauberk are the seal of Milo Fitzwalter, Earl of Hereford, and an engraving by Strutt from a MS. Psalter of the twelfth century, as well as the Bayeux tapestry. "In the rude workmanship of the time," says he, "it has the appearance of intersected wire, but a reference to the Norman writers, and a further inquiry into heraldry, leads us not only to the name but formation." He then refers to Du Cange, "who proved that the heraldic charge 'mascle' was borrowed from the armour of the knights." We are thus led to discover that the masbled or maculated hauberk was composed of several folds of linen, covered with diamond-shaped pieces of steel touching each other and perforated.

The references to rude conventions establish nothing, nor can we accept the heraldic form as anything more than a symbol. He tells us that Johannes de Janua refers to their resemblance to the meshes of fishermen's nets, termed by the Romans *maculae*. But surely we need go no farther to show the resemblance to a fisherman's net than that presented by the interlaced chain mail, and the quotation from the life of St. Louis by Nichola de Braya,

Nexilibus maclis vestis distincta notatur,

is as confirmatory as one would need desire, as well as that from Guillaume de Breton,

. . . . inter
Pectus et ora fidit masculas toracis.

The assumption that the term *vestis* applied to a quilted linen tunic cannot possibly be admitted, as the passage tells us very clearly that the vest was composed of interwoven meshes, a character which applies to every mail hauberk. Had Sir Samuel been aware of the great antiquity and constant use of chain mail he never could have imagined such a construction as he has suggested, which would be very difficult to make efficient in flexibility or to give adequate protection.

But it is singular that Meyrick's learning has not informed him that the very term "mail" descends from the Latin *macula* through the Italian *maglia*, French *maille*, which expresses network* and even rings, and completely settles the question should there have been any doubt. *Mesh* and the German *maschen* also may be set down to the same derivation, and we have adopted the term "mail" from the French.^b

SINGLE MAIL.

This is a term given by Meyrick to what he described as composed of rings set edgewise on quilted linen, and partially worn down to the reign of Edward I. Of many references given by him, I consider it to be only necessary to refer to one, that of the effigy of Peter, Earl of Richmond, in the collegiate church of Aquabella in Savoy, of which an engraving appears in vol. xviii. of *Archæologia*,^c with a full account of its character. But if the principle is admitted as given in its details, I am prepared to show that "single mail" continued until armour ceased to be used. But that such construction was ever carried out I must, on similarity of evidence, deny. It would take four times the number of rings in the ordinary interlaced chain mail to construct the hauberk, and they would afford no protection, for in winding about the rounded form of the body the rings would gape,

* See Florio's *New World of Words*, sub voce *maglia*. Also Cotgrave's *French-English Dictionary*, 1650, sub voce *maille*. Even *mesh* must be put down as derivative from *macula*.

^b Our Fellow, Mr. W. Paley Baildon, has sent me an interesting note from an agreement made between Henry le Bateler and Bonur of Oxford that the latter shall deliver "unam loricam de Chaumbelye et unum haubergellum de grosso macello." Exchequer of the Jews, Plea Roll, 56-57, Henry III. m. 2. "Grosso macello" = great mesh, meaning of large rings, and thus a looser hauberk.

^c Plates IX. and X.

giving thus a ready opening for the thrust of a lance or the blow of a sword, and its weight, as Meyrick himself seems to have seen, would have crippled the wearer. But the best evidence against the idea of rings being sewn upon a tunic is given by those effigies which exhibit the cowl thrown off the head with the *inner* part visible, so if any conventional representation similar to that of the Earl of Richmond be the same on the under side as on the upper when it ought to show the tunic, it settles for ever the question of "single mail" as devised by Sir Samuel Meyrick. An example of this kind is found in the effigy of Louis, Earl of Clermont and Duke of Bourbon, who died in 1347, formerly in the church of the Dominicans at Paris, an etching of which was made by Mr. Kerrich in 1785. Also on the effigy of a knight of the Pembridge family at Clehonger, Herefordshire, *cir.* 1360-70, and on one of Sir Walter Arden in Aston Church, Warwickshire, of about the same date,^a a similar convention is found, at which time of course no other but the interlaced chain mail could be intended. But as in a later time Sir Samuel uses the term in another yet objectionable sense, this will be considered under "double-chain mail," a term I now take up.

DOUBLE-CHAIN MAIL.

The term "double-chain mail" was adopted by Meyrick from the Chronicle of Flanders,

Un hauberk clavez de double maille;

but in his interpretation he assumed that it was the interlaced chain mail newly adopted from the Asiatics, as opposed to the "single mail" I have already referred to. As a matter of course it is included by me along with the several terms given as one and the same of Oriental ingenuity. It is not necessary to refer to our numerous effigies which declare this fact. I am not aware that Meyrick officially repudiated his primitive idea of "single mail," but in an interesting article by him in vol. xxxi. of the *Archaeologia*^b on the effigy of a De Mauley, formerly in the Minster at York, the question again arises, but in a different form, with the result, however, of explaining the term "double mail," which existing examples of the hauberk render obscure. It appears that during the incendiary fire by Martin in 1829 this effigy was broken to pieces, but the fragments were afterwards collected and presented to Sir Samuel Meyrick and preserved at

^a Both these are engraved in Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*.

^b Pp. 238-248.

Goodrich Court. Two different modes of representing mail here appear.^a One is that usually seen in the best effigies and early monumental brasses, in which the construction is attempted to be shown. The other is a duplication of the mode, and in referring to it Sir Samuel says that the fragments of the effigy "are quite sufficient to illustrate the point for which I have always contended, viz. that *double maille*, or double-chain mail is different from single mail." This is a fact one is not inclined to dispute, only that two very different suggested modes of construction he calls by the same name. As I have already disposed of the first it can only be used by me on the present occasion, as it is an unnecessary term which tends to confusion, whilst my argument contends for simplicity. It appears, therefore, that in this effigy the coiffe and camail was of the character with which we are familiar, having only singly interlaced rings.



Fig. 2. Double-ringed mail from the hauberk of the De Mauley effigy formerly in York Minster.

But the hauberk has a double set of rings, a smaller set and a larger enclosing it, all interlacing together (fig. 2).^b The manufacturers of such a hauberk must have acquired an extra amount of mechanical skill, and the weight of such would be almost twice that of the more usual and simpler kind. We may well suppose that it was exceptional in use, as it is also in the *Chronicle de Flandres* thus specially mentioned. It may be put down as

one of the expedients of strengthening the defence against attack which belongs constantly to the history of arms and armour.

We may accept the term "double mail" as illustrated in the effigy of De Mauley, but must reject the sense given to it originally by Meyrick, nor can we admit the term "single mail" to be used at all in any way as it tends to confusion, and so also "edge mail," which through a casual use of the word by Meyrick has been adopted by later writers. It is undesirable in any scientific inquiry to multiply terms, especially when they are unnecessary.

RUSTRED.

It is necessary to take note, before I continue my story, of the term "rustred" given by Meyrick as borrowed from heraldry, and which he speaks of as having grown out of the ringed armour used at the Conquest. I have already disposed of the latter as a non-existent species, so must quote from his article on

^a Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has reminded me that an effigy in Pickering Church, Yorkshire, also exhibits the two forms of mail.

^b Mr. Hope suggests that this "double-ringed" mail, as he calls it, was actually formed by coiling the wire twice before riveting.

scaled armour, for this "rustre," he tells us, is a semicircular scale perforated: "It is probable that the perforations in the rustres were found too large securely to protect the body from the points of adverse weapons." This is a criticism which will occur to every one, but it is a singular argument to suppose this hypothetical species of cuirass preceded scale armour, which no one knew better than did Sir Samuel had been in use in remote antiquity without a sign of any rustred form being recorded.

The rustre form is well shown on an effigy at Llanarmon-in-Yale, Denbighshire, as a mode of defence to the arm as far as the elbow joint. It was evidently impressed on leather, perhaps *cuir bouilli*, and not perforated, as might be supposed on a cursory examination. This is proved by an enlarged piece of detail in the representation given in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*,* wherein is an account of the effigy by our late Fellow, Mr. Stephen W. Williams. I must therefore dismiss the term "rustred" from the category of a separate form of defensive hauberk.

BANDED MAIL.

Banded mail is an appropriate term given by Sir Samuel to a form which appears on effigies, brasses, and in illuminated manuscripts from the middle of the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth century (fig. 3). The construction of a hauberk of this kind has long been a *crux antiquariorum*, and many

singular attempts at solution have been made at home and abroad. Meyrick himself gives no decided opinion as to the structure of banded mail, but makes some suggestions which do not accord with examples. One thing is positive enough, that it consists of bands and rings, but how applied is the question before us. My own

Fig. 3. Conventional representation of "banded mail."



solution I gave in 1870 by the exhibition of a hauberk from Northern India wherein the collar



Fig. 4. Part of a hauberk from Northern India.

is strengthened by thongs of leather (fig. 4). There are many like examples, but the band is not always of leather. It must be admitted that these represent banded mail, so that the only point open to discussion is whether or not it is that referred to which gave rise to the term. My advantage is that it corresponds conventionally to representations, and its oriental source is equally in its favour, since we get from thence the interlaced chain mail as well as

* Vol. i.

the use of padded garments of various kinds. I shall therefore now go into the evidence or opinion that I have taken up, and afterwards refer to the theories in opposition. In the accounts rendered of conflicts in medieval romances or otherwise, we hear of unmailing. Meyrick quotes this passage from the Roman d'Aubery :

Et le haubere vait après desmaillent,
Ausis le cope come fit un bouquerant.

Of course it must have been of frequent occurrence in almost every encounter that such injuries were sustained, and the armourer must have been ever at hand with hammer and pincers to repair by adding rings wanting or putting others together. Now, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when we first find banded mail, we also see the beginnings of further protection, to the knee first, then to other joints, and I feel convinced that originally, before steel was adopted, these were made of leather, perhaps *cuir bouilli*. This material was largely used, as Chaucer tells us that the knights' jammers were of *cuir bouilli*; and from many effigies of the time I feel convinced that it was of frequent use in the forearm. Even later on, in the fine effigy of Sir John Crosby, 1475, it is very apparent. In our history of defensive armour we may repeat the adage "nothing like leather," whence the term cuirass, though now of steel glittering in the sunshine, got its name for its primitive material. To reinforce and improve the defence, it was natural to seek a ready mode as well as a material at hand. The leathern thong simply introduced in every alternate row of rings seems, by its flexibility, to commend itself for the purpose. Where stiffness was required it could be made double, as it is in this collar and in others. Where more flexibility was required it might be single, and the size could be varied at pleasure. It could be applied horizontally, as usually seen, or longitudinally, as often found in manuscripts. It is significant that in Meyrick's large work he gives a representation of a knight doing homage whose panoply is entirely composed of leathern thongs plaited in threes, except on the arms and legs; the material on which nevertheless must be of leather.* As this must be placed in the thirteenth century, and at the time of banded mail, it is a powerful suggestion towards the use of the thong in reinforcement, as I have put forward.^b

* This illustration has been borrowed by Meyrick, with certain modifications of his own, from an engraving in B. de Montfaucon's *Les Monuments de la Monarchie française* (Paris, 1729), vol. i. pl. xxxii. fig. 2.

^b Boeheim gives another illustration of a leathern panoply. See p. 141 of *Waffenkunde*.

I must now turn to the opposite side. It is of common experience that the simplicity of a solution is not agreeable to many minds. They seek the muse of fire that would ascend the brightest heaven of invention, and disdain that which is commonplace or suggested by common sense, "which yet the most uncommon sense appears," as our great poet tells us. Then let me appeal to the uncommon sense.

At a meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute when the subject was somewhat discussed, Mr. Hewitt, whose eminent services in the history of armour are well known, produced an illustration with section of a piece of detail from an effigy at Newton Solney,* to which I must now direct your attention. The effigy is one of the few in which banded mail is shown, and Sir Samuel Meyrick had never seen an example. He did not attempt to explain its construction, but put it forward as an actual representation instead of being a convention. It exhibits a series of rings closely compacted together, each row separated by a band. In our argument the size of these rings is important to note. The diameter of the ring is full $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, and that of wire, of which it is composed, rather more than $\frac{1}{8}$; but taking the minimum, it follows that a ring of that substance so compacted together would entail a coating of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch of iron all over the body. On carefully counting the rows of rings, assuming the engraving to be fairly accurate, and the number of rings in a given space as shown, yet confining myself to the hauberk and sleeves, I find the number amount to about 8,770, and having had a steel ring made to the size and weighed, I calculated the total weight to be about 103 lbs., without any consideration of the bands, whatever the material might be. The average weight of an ordinary hauberk ranges from 14 lbs. to 20 lbs., but in those weighed the sleeves were short. The most frequent size of the rings has a diameter of $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch, and the wire of not much over $\frac{1}{16}$ inch.

As it is preposterous to suppose that a knight could fight under such a weight as I have given, the coif and chausses not even considered, with the other incumbrances of his panoply, it settles the question in the instance referred to of an actual or conventional representation, as well as in all other cases of the kind. The subject of weight has scarcely had sufficient attention paid to it, though its importance must be evident when the question has been gone into, since it overlies the consideration of other theoretical ideas.

Mr. Hewitt, however, avoided giving a theory on the subject and confined himself to criticism. Thus he turns to that of M. de Vigne, in his *Recueil de Costumes du Moyen-Age*, wherein the banded mail is represented as formed of

* See *Archæological Journal*, vii. 360-369.

rows of overlapping rings sewn down on leather or other similar material, "avec les coutures couvertes de petites bandes de cuir." This notion, however, seems at variance with those ancient monuments where the inside of the defence exhibits the ring-work as well as the exterior. Mr. Hewitt continues, "a more improbable garment, to say the least of it, than a hauberk of leather *faced* with mail and *lined* with mail can scarcely be conceived."

I have already referred to the inevitable weakness of making a tunic of any material the basis of a defence composed of rings or indeed of any hard substance, so it surprises me that Viollet le Duc should have fallen into this error, adopting mainly the idea of M. de Vigne. Boeheim in his admirable volume on armour appears to accept his solution, of which he gives an illustration. Here, as at Newton Solney, is a compact row of rings $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter and slightly under $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter of the wire. But the elaborate contrivance to produce the effect is most extraordinary. The basis again is a tunic of leather upon which the rings are fastened by a species of rivet, if I may use such a term, held on a band of leather passing through the rings, then to produce the notable bands is a cord covered over with leather. Such elaboration is to me so inconceivable that I cannot comprehend how any one who had made armour a study could ever have arrived at such an impossible combination. Setting aside considerations of weight, which would not be much under the example of Newton Solney, when once the cords were cut, away would go the rings, and the hauberk would be destroyed.

I now give the theory of Mr. Lewis, founded upon the effigies at Tollard Royal (Wilts), Tewkesbury (Gloucestershire), Dodford (Northamptonshire), and Newton Solney (Derbyshire); and here let me remark, it is in each case assumed that they are actual representations instead of being conventional. I will give the description in the words of my friend the late Mr. William Burges, who says "according to his (Mr. Lewis's) idea this banded mail was made by sewing rings on linen, so that they overlapped one another in rows, like the edge mail^a of Sir S. Meyrick (some examples having the rings closer than others). It was then covered on both sides by sewing on strips of leather, the stitching passing between the rows of rings, and the lower edges of the leather being turned up and covering the upper edges of strips beneath, thus increasing the thickness of leather between the rings to six folds."^b He then proceeds: "The only objection to the theory of

^a When Meyrick used this term he was referring to his "single mail." By getting rid of the one we dispose of the other, and cannot admit the application of either.

^b *Catalogue of Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail*, 115.

Mr. Lewis is the unnecessary amount of sewing involved in attaching together the various strips, more especially when we consider the liability of deterioration in the wear and tear of a campaigner, but it hardly appears necessary to make the garment in strips, inasmuch as it is perfectly possible to make the surfaces exterior and interior of two continuous pieces of leather gathering it up, with or without cords, at the intervals between the rows."

Mr. Burges's criticism is sufficiently damaging to the theory, even admitting his own suggested improvement. In the position I have taken up the linen basis on which all this is built up is the initial evil, as I have already pointed out in other cases, and the elaboration of the work here given amazes me that it should be put forward as an improvement on the ingenious interlaced mail, which stood its ground throughout medieval times, unaffected by such ideas and theories of a new article as thus set forth, condemned as it is by all true mechanical principles of superior defence.

Besides the assumption that the selected examples are actual representations,* there is the ignoring of the numerous instances in brasses with rings too small to be so treated, and that of Willem Wenemaer, founder of the hospital in the Place St. Phasailde, at Ghent, 1325, remarkable for the excellent workmanship it exhibits, utterly sets aside the possibility of such elaborate covering of the rings as given by Mr. Lewis. On the same grounds on which I dismissed the example of Newton Solney, so must I that at Tewkesbury, on which the rings are still larger, as well as that at Dodford, on which they are somewhat smaller. Weight cannot be set aside.

We must not forget that banded mail came into use with the advent of other modes of defence, that it did not displace the ordinary mail, but continued with it and disappeared at the latter half of the fourteenth century, when plate armour

* Since writing the above, Lord Dillon has kindly directed my attention to another species of convention of this kind of mail differing from the well-known examples which I have described. It occurs in a manuscript of the *Aeneid*, in the Royal Library at Berlin, by one Henry von Beldecke, wherein Turnus is in the costume of a medieval knight of about the end of the twelfth century. The alternate rows of bands and rings show the latter in the simplest form, without any attempt to suggest interlacing, the artist evidently not considering this of much importance. A similar convention appears also in a French manuscript in the Vatican of the thirteenth century, depicting a conflict of warriors in the presence of ladies, who make a remarkable exhibition of their persons. It is engraved in Agincourt's *Histoire de l'Art*, but it would be idle to argue that it represented construction, when it is simply the readiest mode which suggested itself to the designer, and does not deviate more from the truth than other conventions which I have represented and referred to.

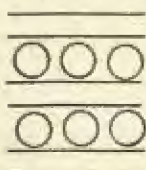


Fig. 5. Conventional representation (enlarged) of mail in a MS. in the Royal Library, Berlin.

was developing and covering the entire figure. Our history suggests that it was an addition to that which existed, not a novel construction.

Having now simplified the subject by showing that the different terms given by Meyrick cannot be accepted as intimating different modes of structure, it will



Fig. 6. Assyrian helmet with attachment of mail, in the British Museum.

be advisable to refer to the history and development of chain mail by such evidence as we possess. In the Assyrian room in the British Museum we find a specimen attached to a conical helmet, or, as we should say, from its analogy to medieval examples, a bascinet, as shown in the annexed cut (fig. 6). Besides these there are also a few links riveted in the usual manner and attached to them some rings of brass, such as are seen in many hauberks in our museums. This fact is interesting, as it shows how early was this practice of ornamentation. One of the traditions of the Arabs, with whom this mode of defence was highly

prized, is that it was invented by the prophet David, who made iron soft, and it became in his hands like thread, and a superior coat of mail was called "Davidian." But a story from *The Arabian Nights Entertainment* may be passed over for more accurate evidence. The specimens in the British Museum referred to were formerly dated at 750 B.C. But this is not now entertained, and from a communication from our Fellow, Dr. Budge, it seems impossible to fix any certain date at all. Some have placed it at the Sassanian period, others even much later. The helmet came from Kuyunjik, which city was destroyed about B.C. 610, but this fact helps little in any way. To assume it to be Assyrian, I have been obliged to take note that it never occurs in the very elaborately worked reliefs, although it has been referred to by some writers. Some of the figures in Layard's work appear in a long hauberk attached to a bascinet, and singularly remind me of the figures of knights sent by Herod to slaughter the innocents on the west front of the cathedral church of St. Trophime at Arles in France. But the construction of this hauberk is singular, seeming to consist of scales placed upright instead of downwards, with interweaving bands like banded mail. This seems to show that chain mail was unknown to Assyria at the time of these sculptures, which are so minutely and carefully worked. We must therefore appeal to the Trajan column, said to have been erected A.D. 106. In this case the hauberk of chain mail is part of a trophy of conquered Parthians, and not of a Roman legionary, as there is no evidence on this or the

Antonine column, or even so late as that of Theodosius, that such was ever worn by them, nor is there any evidence that it was known to or in use by the Greeks. But the passage quoted by Meyrick in his learned treatise on the *lorica catena* of the Romans from Silius Italicus, *loricam trilicem*,^a involves a difficulty, for if we trust merely to language it would be conclusive. The terms *lorica catena*, *thoraca catena*, which he also quotes, are extremely suggestive, but I am unable to come to any decision on the question, as the evidence of representation is wanting, and some specimens given in an archæological publication as Roman are merely conjectural.

Chain-mail was doubtless at all times popular in the East, and easily found its way through Persia to Hindostan, and it has held its sway amongst native states down to our own time, as in Scinde. Also I am informed by Dr. Lansdell^b that so late as 1887 it was in use in Chinese Turkestan, and he possesses a fine example from Khotan. It is difficult to pursue its history throughout the momentous period of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and its traditions must be sought amongst those who assisted in its overthrow. Thus we find the Franks and Saxons specially referred to by a Roman historian as the most terrible of enemies. Amongst the remains of a Frankish interment purchased by Mr. C. R. Smith for Lord Londesborough at Cologne in 1850, I being present, was a small piece of chain mail, and these were supposed to belong to the eighth century.^c The poem of Beowulf and others frequently mention it, and its value is shown by presents being sent from one chieftain to another. The rude illustrations occasionally seen sometimes make it difficult to discover if it be chain mail or scale armour which is represented.

As we advance in time and enter into the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find many evidences besides that of the Bayeux tapestry of its development, where, however, it is remarkable that the Norman knights or fighters are entirely in mail, whilst their opponents are often deficient. About this same period a MS. of the Dialogues of St. Gregory represents a knight in the typical hauberk reaching to the knees and the sleeves loosely to the elbows, as abundantly shown in our museums, and it is my impression that this was generally the case, and that the continuations to the forearm were separate, though attachable. The closely-fitting sleeves in our effigies and early brasses must be a convention; the bending of the arm would be impossible unless the mail was loose over the elbow joint.

^a This really seems to be the same as the *broign trellis*, which I have shown to be nothing more than the interlaced chain mail.

^b Rev. Henry Lansdell, D.D., author of *Chinese Central Asia*, etc.

^c See C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. xxxv. p. 147.

The interesting effigy at Horley, Surrey,^a shows distinctly a difference in the set of the mail on the forearm, which thus supports my argument. Whilst we are criticising the medieval artist it is well to call attention to the equestrian statue by Baron Marochetti at the Houses of Parliament, where the uplifted forearm is cased in mail as if it were as easy as a soft elastic material, exhibiting even the inflections of the principal muscle, an absurd impossibility which our medieval friends avoided.

It is well here to consider the normal size of the rings, which seem generally to have been about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in diameter; when larger ones were used the hauberk must have been looser. In earlier times, when the hauberk was the chief defence, the rings appear to have been all of one size; but later on portions were made of smaller rings at the sides, where flexibility became more requisite. The same principle must have been specially required when on the limbs, and the mittens must always have been constructed of smaller rings. On the brass of Sir Robert de Septvans at Chartham, Kent,^b this is clearly shown. This modification must have been common both to Asiatic mail as well as European, and may be easily observed in all collections, and especially in the Wallace Collection.

From the eleventh to the fourteenth century we have many evidences of the progress by which the knight became entirely enveloped in mail as shown in our numerous effigies.

But at the end of the fourteenth century the hauberk disappears from our monuments, and, in consequence of the overlaying of plate, chain mail is only seen by the camail, the gussets, and the lower terminal of the former, as is shown in the brass of Sir John de Saint Quintin, at Brandsburton, Yorkshire, 1397. The transition that then took place is best seen in the interesting brass at Little Horkesley, Essex,^c to Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Swinburne, father and son. The former died in 1368, and is shown in armour of his time; the other in 1410, and is shown in the complete change to panoply of plate which had now taken place.

Now, it is singular that in the interval referred to, when the use of the hauberk was passing away, we find it frequently being bequeathed in wills, a good proof of its value. Thus in that of Sir John Foxley,^d whose monumental brass is at

^a Engraved in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vii. 184.

^b Engraved in J. G. and L. A. B. Waller's *Series of Monumental Brasses from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century*.

^c *Ibid.*

^d *Archæological Journal*, xv. 267.

Bray, Bucks, 1378, are two bequests of it under its title "habergeon": one "de alto clowour" is to his nephew, Thomas Paynel; the other, not so distinguished, to John Feghelere, another nephew. It is necessary therefore that some attempts at an explanation be made of a term also appearing as *haute cloüere de Chambli*, as if of especial value. It appears to me that we must seek its solution in translation, and Cotgrave's Dictionary renders *clouere* "a nayling." *Haute clouere*, then, "the high nayling," I consider refers to a conical twisting of the wire at its junction, which thus stands up higher above the surface than is usual. Something of this kind appears in the standard of mail formerly in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection, now in the British Museum. Chambli and Milan were places of superior manufacture.

Du Cange, under the word *armatura*, quotes the inventory of the armour of Louis X., King of France, 1316, wherein the different species of mail are recorded. One of these terms, *uns bras de roondes mailles de haute cloüere*, suggests what I have already hinted at, that the mail defence of the forearm was not attached to the hauberk until required for use. I do not know of a specimen of a hauberk with sleeves extending beyond the elbow whose authenticity can be relied on. Separate defences of mail for forearm are in the Wallace collection and elsewhere, which tend to support my argument.

During the Wars of the Roses plate armour displayed its fullest development, and chain mail is but little seen until the end of the fifteenth century, when it assists in the defence of the neck, and later on by a skirt, which appears to be almost out of place. The brass of John, Viscount Beaumont, 1507, at Wivenhoe, Essex, shows this condition, of which, however, numerous examples in effigies and brasses may be found, terminating in a great measure the history of chain mail as an adjunct to defence. A MS. in the possession of Lord Hastings, of the date 1438, gives us an illustration of the partial use of mail beneath the overlapping of plate. A very able article on it by the late Mr. Albert Way is in vol. iv. of the *Archæological Journal*, and a fuller account by Lord Dillon in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii. The only part to which I need refer is under the title, "How a man schall be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote." In the illustration we find the knight in his doublet has gussets of mail for defence of the armpits and sides, and a breech of mail is being fitted by an attendant. As all this would hereafter be covered with plate, we may perceive how small a portion of the old hauberk was in use. My belief is that smaller rings were necessary beneath the arm, but the ordinary size for the rest. This marks an interesting interval in the decline of the hauberk. But before we leave it I must appeal to its probable

use in the memorable field of Flodden, 1513, by one of the principal heroes of that time, Sir William Molyneux, who is recorded to have taken two banners by his own hands, one being that of the Earl of Huntley. On his brass at Sefton, Lancashire,* he is represented in complete armour, the general aspect of which is similar to that worn almost to the reign of James I. The peculiar features are that his breastplate has upon it the cross moline, his armorial bearing, a circumstance unusual at the time. His head is covered by a coif of mail in the fashion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and is decorated by a collar, which may be intended for one of SS. Beneath his armour appears an ample skirt of mail, which seems to me to be intended for part of a complete hauberk.

Now the question for our solution is the reason for this singular departure from the ordinary equipment of the time. We may be quite assured that our monuments present to us the actual array of the deceased in most instances, or at any rate that which was generally in use, and we cannot accredit the artist with imagination. An important part of his life is sometimes illustrated or intended to be so. I believe it to be so here, and that the Molyneux memorial presents us with the hero in the very habit that he appeared in at the field of Flodden. The invasion of the Scottish army was sudden. The king was on the Continent with a large army, so the defence called for a precipitate array, which affected the complete arming of both knights and retainers. If the contemporary ballads on the subject do not indulge in poetical licence such was the case. Thus Weber says :

Then every lord and knight each where,
And barons bold in musters met,
Each man made haste to mend his gear,
And some their rusty pikes did whet.

We may not unnaturally ask then if the appearance of Sir William Molyneux may not be accounted for by his having arrayed himself in portions of the armour of his ancestors to meet the exigencies of the occasion. At the time he was but thirty-five years of age. He died in 1548, and I think we may assure ourselves that he was the last Englishman who used the hauberk of chain mail in battle, though it was still in use in many parts of Europe.

* Engraved in J. G. and L. A. B. Waller's *Series of Monumental Brasses*.



SEALS FROM CHARTERS OF THE MANOR OF DURRINGTON, WILTS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.

V.—*Records of the Manor of Durrington, Wilts.* By T. F. KIRBY, Esq.,
M.A., F.S.A.

Read 30th June, 1904.

THE village of Durrington is situate on the right bank of the river Avon, about three miles north of Amesbury; the village of Bulford, where the military camp is, being on the other side of the river.

There are two manors in the parish, which contains only 2,702 acres, the east end manor and the west end manor. It is to the east end manor that I am about to refer. In the thirteenth century it belonged to a family of the name of Nevill. I exhibit the counterpart of a grant of the manor by Hervey de Nevill to the nuns of Amesbury for the term of three years in consideration of forty marks down and twenty more in expectancy. It is dated on the day of the apparition of St. Michael (*sancti Michaelis in tumba*) 13 Hen. III. (9th May, 1227), and still has the seal of John de Vinci, prior of Amesbury, attached to it. This seal is in dirty white wax, and about 2 inches in length. I can make nothing of the device and legend. The seal of the prioress has been broken off, and the one word in the instrument which is illegible is her name, possibly Alicia. But for this misfortune I should have recovered the name of another prioress of Amesbury. Few of their names are given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. The name of a later prioress, Sibil de Montacute, I have recovered from an entry in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Durrington, 27th March, 9 Hen. V. to the effect that Sibil de Montacute, prioress of Amesbury, died since the last Court seised of three messuages and six yard lands within the manor: that her best saddle horse with its gear had been seized for a mortuary, and her two best plough horses (*averia*) for a heriot, and that her holding had been seized into the hands of the lords *quousque*, that is to say, until her successor should come in and be

admitted tenant. The editors of the *Monasticon* refer in a note* to the fact of there having been a prior as well as a prioress of Amesbury, on the authority of Ducarel's abstracts of the Lambeth registers; and here we have a confirmation of the statement.^b

This instrument is in effect a land and stock lease, passing the enjoyment of the manor house and demesne together with the live stock thereon, and the works and services of the *rustici*, or serfs, with a proviso that at the end of the term of three years the nuns should yield up the land properly sown, cultivated, and stocked, to the satisfaction of four men of law retained on either side as arbitrators.

Here follows the deed:

Omnibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris notum sit quod Ego Hervesius de Nevilla, miles, tradidi et liberavi ad firmam pro sexaginta marcis, de quibus pre manibus quadraginta marcas recepi, sanctimonialibus de Ambr. totum dominicum meum et capitale mesuagium cum pratis et pasturis et operacionibus rusticorum que spectant ad dominicum meum in villa de Durintone, et etiam unam virgatam terre quam Galfridus Barun aliquando tenuit, cum prato et pasturâ ad illam terram pertinente Habendum et colendum per tres annos, scilicet quousque inde tres vesturas perceperint. Redditus rusticorum et molendinorum et omnia eschaeta et amerciamenta et auxilia in manu mea retineo. Et in forte aliquis rusticorum in bladis vel pratis vel pasturis, sive in operacionibus, sive quocunque modo versus dictas moniales deliquerit, dictis monialibus emendabit.

Tradidi etiam dictis monialibus totum dominicum meum seminatum cum dicta terra que fuit Galfridi Barun et quatuor viginti et decem oves matrices bene dentatas, et quatuor decem matrices juniores, et decem oves matrices vetulas, et viginti novem agnos femininos, et viginti tres masculos, et novem multones juvenes et sex multones vetulos, et quatuor coillardos, et sexdecim boves, scilicet quinque vetulos et undecim juniores cum dentibus. Post terminum trium annorum, scilicet in quarto anno, moniales terram meam restituent ita cultam et seminatam sicuti eam eis tradidi cum instauramento predicto et capitali messuagio per visum quatuor legalium hominum ex utraque parte providentium. Si verò infra predictum terminum aliquis rusticorum operancium obierit vel in servicio defecerit, terra illius in manus monialium remanebit quousque eis de opere et servicio proficiendo provisum fuerit. Hanc verò convencionem fideliter observandam affidavi, et dominus prior pro parte monialium hanc convencionem se fideliter observaturum in verbo veritatis promisit. Ego verò et heredes mei prefatam convencionem warantizabimus dictis monialibus contra omnes homines et feminas usque ad tres annos completos.

Actum anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis anno xiiij^{mo} in festo sancti Michaelis in monte tumba.

* Ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, ii. 334.

^b The name of an earlier prioress "Yda Christi ancilla," occurs in a deed dated on Christmas Day, 1273, among the Hyde Abbey deeds at Winchester College.

In huius verò convencionis testimonium . . . cia priorissa, et Johannes de Vinci, prior Ambr. presenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Hiis testibus: domino Willelmo, priore de Leghtone, fratribus Ricardo et Willelmo, capellanis de Ambr., Thoma Herdman et Johanne Beyssin de Durintone, et aliis.

Hervey de Nevill must have been in great want of ready money thus to alienate his inheritance, taking two-thirds of the rent in advance. I have come across similar cases, but in them the conditions have been reversed, the necessitous party being a religious house and the alienee a layman.

Eighteen years later, in 31 Henry III. I find an example of Henry de Nevill's seal appended to an agreement between him and Maud, widow of Richard de Ledcumbe, by which the said Maud agreed to assign to him her dower for the remainder of her life, whether she entered religion or not, *i.e.* without saving the right of assigning it to the religious house if she should enter one, in consideration of twenty shillings in hand.

Henry de Nevill's seal is a long oval, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, in dirty white wax. Subject, an arm clothed in armour, legend :

... DE NEVILL

Later, but still in the time of Henry III., I find Hugh de Nevill, son of the above, granting one yardland in Durrington to William Veileken, his servant, "pro homagio et servicio suo," rendering a pound of cummin yearly within the octave of St. Botolph (June 17-24), and reserving the right to substitute other lands of equal value in the county of York or the county of Lincoln.

I also exhibit a release* by Veileken for the sake of the seal, which is in dirty white wax, circular, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across (Plate III. fig. 1). Subject, a lion passant to the sinister. Legend :

SIGILL' WILL'I VELLEKEN

In 51 Henry III. I find Gilbert de Nevill, the grandson, I presume, agreeing to pay sixty marks to the executors of John Fitzwilliam in order to have back his lands, which the king had granted to Fitzwilliam "*occasione turbationis*," words to which I am unable to assign a certain meaning. The seal has been torn off this document.

In 54 Henry III. I find a lease by Ralph de Yngoldeby and Agnes his wife,

* This deed is witnessed by John Bonet, sheriff of Lincolnshire. He was sheriff in the year 1218, which must be the date of this instrument.

daughter and heir of Richard de Bledcumbe, to this Gilbert de Nevill of two yardlands in Durrington for a term of three years, reserving to himself the capital messuage, at a rent of three quarters of wheat annually. The seals are perfect, the device on the husband's seal being a luce and that on the wife's seal a fleur-de-lis (Plate III. figs. 2 and 3). The grain of the thumb and forefinger of the operator who pressed the warm wax into the matrices of these seals is remarkably distinct.

Later, under Edward I., I find Sir Gilbert de Nevill, knt., in possession of the manor, and in 27 Edward I. I find John Gyffard of Durrington releasing to Sir John de Nevill of Grimsthorp all lands in Durrington which were formerly held by his mother Agnes. This Agnes, Agnes de Ledcumbe as she is called in a contemporaneous instrument, was daughter and heir of Richard de Ledcumbe or Bledcumbe, and had been the wife of Ralph de Yngoldesby, deceased.

In 17 Edward II. I find John, son of this John Gyffard, releasing to Sir John de Nevill three yardlands which had been Agnes Yngoldesby's, who in this later instrument regains her married name.

I exhibit the record of an inquisition *post mortem*, which was held at Amesbury, 9th May, 8 Edward III., in consequence of the death of this Sir John Nevill, before Robert Selyman, escheator, or, as we should say, undersheriff of Wilts. The jury found that Sir John died on St. George's Day (23rd April), 8 Edward III., and that his son Gilbert de Nevill was his next heir. Also the jury found that he held the manor of Durrington of the king *in capite* by the service of one knight's fee, and that it comprised a capital messuage of no value beyond reprisals; a garden worth 2s. by the year; a water corn mill worth with the fishery 26s. by the year; one hundred and sixty seven acres arable, whereof two-thirds might be sown annually, each acre sown being worth 3s. and each acre not sown being worth nothing, because it was commonable; four acres meadow worth 2s. per acre, the aftermath being of no value because the meadow was then commonable; two acres of several pasture from the Purification to the beginning of August (usque gulam Augusti) worth 2s. an acre; and sheepfeed on the down, worth 20s. a year. There were six free tenants, rendering 27s. 9d., 3 lbs. of pepper and 1 lb. of cummin at Michaelmas, 4s. 7d and 6 lbs. of cummin at Lady Day, 6 lbs. of pepper and 6 lbs. of cummin at Christmas, and 15s. at St. John Baptist's Day. There were sixteen customary tenants, each of whom held a messuage and yardland, and their works and services were of no value. And there were nineteen cottagers (*cotarii*) paying quarterly rents amounting to 34s. 10d. yearly. Pleas and perquisites of court were worth 6s. 8d. a year. The sum total was £16 3s. 5d.

By a contemporaneous note at the back of the record it appears that of the arable land in the lord's demesne there were at the date of the inquisition

18 a. in wheat, value per acre	.	.	.	.	3 ^s
22½ a. in bere, ^a value per acre	.	.	.	.	18 ^d
22 a. in barley, value per acre	.	.	.	.	2 ^s
16 a. in dredge, ^b value per acre	.	.	.	.	18 ^d
32 a. in oats, value per acre	.	.	.	.	12 ^d

Gilbert de Nevill, the son and heir, died without issue male, leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, who married one Symon Symeon, a *valettus* or body servant of Edward III.

I exhibit a crown license, dated at Windsor, 30th July, 39 Edward III. (1366), enabling the Symeons to grant the manor to feoffees; and the chirograph of a fine in Michaelmas Term following, in order to settle the manor on Symeon and his wife and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to the right heirs of the wife.

Twenty-three years later I find the lady married to John la Warre, and joining with her husband (having obviously had no issue by her former husband) in granting the manor to three rectors and a chaplain, to the intent that they should enfeof her husband and herself, to hold to them and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to her right heirs.

The deed of grant is dated at their manor of Grimthorp, 25th January, 12 Richard II. (1390). The seals are of considerable beauty and interest (Plate III. figs. 4, 5). That of John la Warre is circular, 1½ inch in diameter, and has for device a shield of arms, *a lion and four crosslets fitchy*, slung from a tree. On either side is a lion with his head enveloped in a helm crested with a bush of feathers. Of the legend only a few letters are left. The seal of Elizabeth la Warre is also circular, 1½ inch in diameter, and has for device an impaled shield of La Warre and Nevill (*a chief indented*) hanging from a tree, with a dog on either side. The impaled half is beautifully diapered. Legend:

Sigillū elīza | bet : la : warre :

John la Warre and his wife were empowered to make this settlement

^a Bere may be a coarse sort of barley not now grown in the south of England, or bearded wheat.

^b Dredge is a mixture of oats and barley, sometimes with the addition of peas, sown for fodder.

by a crown license which I exhibit. It is dated at Westminster, 20th January, 12 Richard II. and the seal is perfect. The consideration "pro LXXX. marc. solut. in hanaperio" may be thought high, but it included a moiety of the manor of Fernham or Fernhamsdean in Hampshire, and the manor and advowson of Wakerley and the manor of Grafton in Northamptonshire, which were the husband's property.

I exhibit the feoffees power of attorney to receive seisin, for the sake of the seals, which are all but perfect.

One of the objects of this operation was to make a title to the manor, which, with the moiety of the manor of Fernham, was about to be sold to William of Wykeham to form part of the endowment of his new college at Winchester. I have the return to the writ *ad quod damnum* necessitated by the fact of the manor being held of the king *in capite*. It is to the effect that the alienation of the manor would not be to the loss of the king; that it might properly be alienated to the college in pure and perpetual alms, and that its annual value at the time was £26 13s. 4d.

John la Warre, who appears latterly as Sir John la Warre and finally as lord la Warre, died soon after the contract of sale was entered into.

I exhibit an acquittance by Thomas Chamberleyn and John Henege, his executors, for the sum of £1,066 13s. 4d., the purchase money. This seems a large sum, for the annual value of the manor of Durrington was only £26 13s. 4d., as we have seen already, and the annual value of the moiety of the manor of Fernham was only £12. No doubt these rents were improveable; but I take the true explanation of the matter to be that there was not much land in the market, that Wykeham was obliged to buy land wherever he could, and that being a rich man he did not mind how much he gave for it. The seal of John Henage (Plate III. fig. 6) is a small round one, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, and has for device a heart encircled with the legend:

S'i | he | ne | ge

and set upon a quatrefoil.

I exhibit the grants by two of the feoffees of lord la Warre to the warden (John Morys) and the scholars of Winchester College, "Seinte Marie College of Wynchester prope Wyntoniam," of the manor of Durrington, dated 22nd February, 22 Richard II., with the seals of the feoffees perfect; and here is a power of attorney under the college seal, one of the finest examples of it in existence,

appointing Master John Crudeshall the senior fellow, and John Bennebury and John Sutton to receive seisin on behalf of the college.

The following terrier, made about the date of the purchase, may be summarized here:—

Manor House, containing hall and chamber under one roof in bad repair (*debiles*), two barns, one with fourteen, the other with five bays (*spatia*), in bad repair, a granary, one half in good, the rest in bad repair, an ox house, a cow house, and a stable under one roof in bad repair; of no value beyond reprisals.

Garden adjoining, annual value	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Four hundred acres arable worth communibus annis	x ^{li}
Eight acres meadow (<i>prati falcabilis</i>)	xxiiij ^s
Ten acres pasture (<i>prati non falcabilis</i>)	xx ^s
Sheep pasture, called la Doune	lxvj ^s viij ^d
Water corn mill, worth, if millpond and hatches were put into repair	lx ^s
Perquisites of court, other than fines and heriots	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Pannage of swine and agistment of horses	iiij ^s

Prioress of Amesbury and seven other free tenants holding lands by charter at rents payable half yearly at Hock and Michaelmas, amounting to lxx^s vj^d, 3½ lbs. of pepper, 1½ lbs. of cummin, with suit of court, wardships, marriages, and other incidents of tenure.

Twelve tenants holding sixteen virgates of bond land (*terræ nativæ*) at rents amounting to xv^{li} xiiij^s

Every one of these must cart three quarters of wheat for the lord of the manor to be sold at whatever place in the county the lord shall assign, being paid one penny per load, and must cart timber to repair the buildings, the mill dam and hatches for 2^d the load, no matter how far: and must find stakes for the lord's sheep fold, and must dam the river whenever the mill dam or hatches need repairing, without being paid.

Four tenants each holding half a virgate of bond land rent free, who must plough the lord's demesne, and each must give to him a cock and three hens for churset^a or 7^d at the option of the lord, and half a day's work to help the customary tenants to dam the river. One who does not plough must do whatever task shall be set him.

Also six tenants holding a cotsetla (about five acres) of bond land apiece

^a Generally rendered church scot or ecclesiastical dues, but here in the sense of duty fowls.

and paying rents amounting to 17/5. Each of these must wash and shear the lord's sheep, spread and rake his hay, put it into cock and stack it in the barn (mullionabit et tassabit in grangiam) without payment.

Two other tenants, holding two cottages and eight acres, and rendering .	vij ^s iiij ^d
Two other tenants, holding two cottages and three and a half acres, and rendering .	xij ^s vj ^d
Seven acres of demesne let to divers tenants for .	iiij ^s
A little pasture alongside the road to the mill, worth .	iiij ^s iiij ^d

Total value .	£41 1 10 and
3½ lbs. of pepper .	2 11
1½ lbs. of cummin .	3

This shows an increase of 54 per cent. on the annual value in the time of John la Warre.

Warden Thurbern, who succeeded Morys in 1413, had the mill pond and hatches repaired. The account, which is preserved in the muniment room at the College, shows that 2d. a day was paid to each labourer employed in the dry and 4d. a day to each labourer working in the water. The greatest number of men employed on any one day was twenty. Every man received in addition 2½d. a day for his board (*tabula*). Cartage of clay cost 4d. a load, and 400 nails 4s. The warden appears to have superintended the work and passed his accounts on returning to Winchester.

I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for the description of the seals.



SILVER-GILT CUP OF WILLIAM THE SILENT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.

VI.—*Notes on a Standing Cup of silver gilt with the Arms of William the Silent, the property of the Earl of Yarborough, F.S.A. By CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., Secretary.*

THE cup exhibited by Lord Yarborough, and figured in the annexed plates, is a fine example of the silversmith's work of the time, and is of very special interest as having belonged to one of the most striking characters in modern history. The description of it is as follows.

It is embossed and chased with marine subjects and explanatory inscriptions. Both the bowl and cover are formed of two pieces of metal in order that the reverse of the embossing may not be visible. On the cover is a map-like view of the Zuider Zee showing a number of ships and towns, etc. on the coast, the principal position being given to a fair-sized view of Enkhuyzen. In the centre is a circular boss chased with sea monsters and having on the top a mariner's compass surrounded by the following inscription :

HÆC EST ILLA FORO PISCARIO ET UBERE PASSÆ
PROVENTU HALECIS NOBILIS ENCHUSIA.
ASPICIS AUSTRALI TENDENTE ÆQUORE NAUTAS
SQUAMMOSO CÆCAS EXCIPULAS PECORI
AT QUANTUM GENUS HOC CAPTURA DISTAT ABILLA
QUAM-PRIDEM HANNONICO CUM DUCE SENSIT IBER.

From the centre of the compass rises a knob with four pendants surmounted by a female figure, no doubt representing the town of Enkhuyzen. From the position of the hands it would seem that a shield, probably with the arms of the town, has been held in front of the figure. The inside of the cover (Plate V.) is engraved with formal scrolls, and has a raised centre embossed and chased with a bird's nest on the waves, four cherubs' heads representing the winds, while out of a cloud appears an arm holding a sceptre with the letters CHRS; around is the inscription :

GUILELMUS D. G. PRINCEPS AURAICÆ CO. NASSAVIÆ
NIDULOR HORRISONAS CHRISTO COHIBENTE PROCELLAS ET
BRUMA IMMITI & SÆVIS TRANQUILLUS IN UNDIS.

The bowl (Plate VI.) is tazza-shaped and has a similar subject embossed within it, *i.e.* a fleet of small ships surrounding some of larger size with indications of two towns around the edge, and at the top the shield and arms of William the Silent; around is the following inscription:

CAPTIVÆ TESTEM PHIALAM BORBONIA [*sic*] CLASSIS
MENTOREA SCALPTAM MITTIMUS ARTE TIBI
UT QUOTIES UDIS ADMORIS NOSTRA LABELLIS
DONA TUÆ TOTIES SIS MEMOR ENCHUSLÆ.

The outside is embossed with a frieze of tritons and sea monsters. The knop is elaborately chased with carreated figures, four goats' heads, and pendent fruits. Below are sea monsters and tritons in the sea. The disc beneath the foot is engraved in a similar style to the interior of the cover, and has in the middle a lion's head in relief.

The arms of William the Silent as they appear in this cup are to be found in Van Loon's *Histoire métallique des Pays Bas*,^a and what seems to be the particular victory which occasioned this presentation is to be found on p. 166 of the same volume, where a sea fight, almost identical with that shown within the cup, is commemorated by a medal shown on the following page. The Spanish fleet was on this occasion commanded by the Comte de Bossu, who, after having sailed to North Holland, entered the Zuider Zee to attack the North Hollanders, whose fleet was there. The Dutch had smaller ships, but more in number, and on the 11th October, 1573, they attacked the Spaniards. Soon the flagship, which was called the *Inquisition*, was attacked by the Dutch admiral and three small ships, and meanwhile the Dutch had obtained possession of a large man-of-war of the fleet and three of smaller size; the rest of the Spanish fleet then set sail, leaving their admiral to his fate. Admiral Bossu, having defended his ship throughout the whole night, only surrendered when his force was reduced to fifteen men. The Dutch on this occasion took three hundred prisoners, and one-third of these were sent to Enkhuyzen, while the Comte de Bossu with the rest were taken to Horn.

That the cup refers to this action and not to any other of the many sea fights that took place about this time is fairly proved by the plate reproduced here (Plate VIII.) This forms No. 93 of a series of engravings of the exploits of the

^a 1732, i. 12.



SILVER-GILT CUP OF WILLIAM THE SILENT (INSIDE OF COVER).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.



SILVER-GILT CUP OF WILLIAM THE SILENT (INSIDE OF BOWL).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.





BRONZE PANELS FOR A SILVER CUP.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.

Emperor Charles V., in the possession of Mr. Max Rosenheim, F.S.A., who has kindly allowed it to be reproduced.*

This volume was produced by an artist named Francis Hogenberg, who was working in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, and engraved a portrait of Queen Mary in 1555. It will be noticed that there is some similarity in the arrangement of the designs in the print and in the cup, the town of Enkhuyzen being shown in much the same manner in both. The five verses beneath describe the discomfiture of Alva's fleet, and at the foot is the date "Anno Dñi M.D.LXXIII. Am XI. Octobris."

This print therefore clearly shows for what occasion the cup was made, while the legend within the bowl proves with equal certainty that it was a token of the gratitude of the town of Enkhuyzen to William the Silent. The allegorical design inside the cover refers to the position of William, and it may also be said to that of the Hollanders themselves. The motto "tranquillus in undis" was adopted by William.

There remain other points as to which no equally conclusive evidence is forthcoming, that is, the name of the artist who designed the cup, the place where it was made, and its history.

With regard to the first, the style is fully characteristic of Netherlands art of the time. The design is both graceful and dignified, while the execution of the details, particularly in the figures of the tritons and sea monsters, is of a very high order. By a curious coincidence our Fellow, Mr. Max Rosenheim, has made a second contribution towards the elucidation of the story in securing the bronze plaques shown in Plate VII. These plaques, probably intended to serve as silversmith's models for a vessel of this kind, are without doubt from the same hand that furnished the designs for Lord Yarborough's cup, though they are not identical. Unfortunately the name of the artist has not been discovered. Unluckily also the cup itself bears neither a town mark nor the stamp of the silversmith. This is, however, not a surprising omission. It is by no means uncommon to find that such objects, made expressly as royal gifts, are unprovided with the usual guarantees of purity of metal or of compliance with the regulations of the trade guild; in such cases they would be superfluous precautions. Having regard to the special and appropriate character of the designs, it may readily be assumed that the cup can only have been made in one of the principal cities of the

* *Kurtze erzeichniss wie Keyser Carolus der V. in Africa Dem König von Thunis so von dem Barbarossen vertrieben mit Kriegsrüstüg zur hülffe komt, etc.*

Netherlands, where even in this troubled time inspiration from the most cultured art centres was frequent, and artists capable of producing work of the highest quality were to be found.

There are no documents in the possession of Lord Yarborough that relate to the cup, and we can only rely upon probabilities and family tradition. These point to Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice of Ireland, as the ancestor who brought the cup into the family. He was a distinguished soldier during Elizabeth's reign, and occupied a number of important offices, his judgment as well as his skill in military matters being highly considered. Apart from a strenuous career in Ireland, where his office plunged him deeply into debt, he was on more occasions than one in the Netherlands; in 1578 he went thither on a diplomatic mission with Lord Cobham and Mr. Secretary Walsingham. After some years spent in Ireland, he went again to the Netherlands in 1586. He was wounded in an engagement, and after a brief sojourn at home returned to the Low Countries, and died at Flushing in 1587. William the Silent was assassinated in 1584, and it is quite conceivable that this cup was given to his English ally Sir William Pelham as a remembrance of the dead hero.

It is but fair to state that Mr. Reginald Blomfield, F.S.A., who first saw this interesting cup in Lord Yarborough's collection, had already pointed out the probability of its having been made to commemorate the sea fight in 1573.

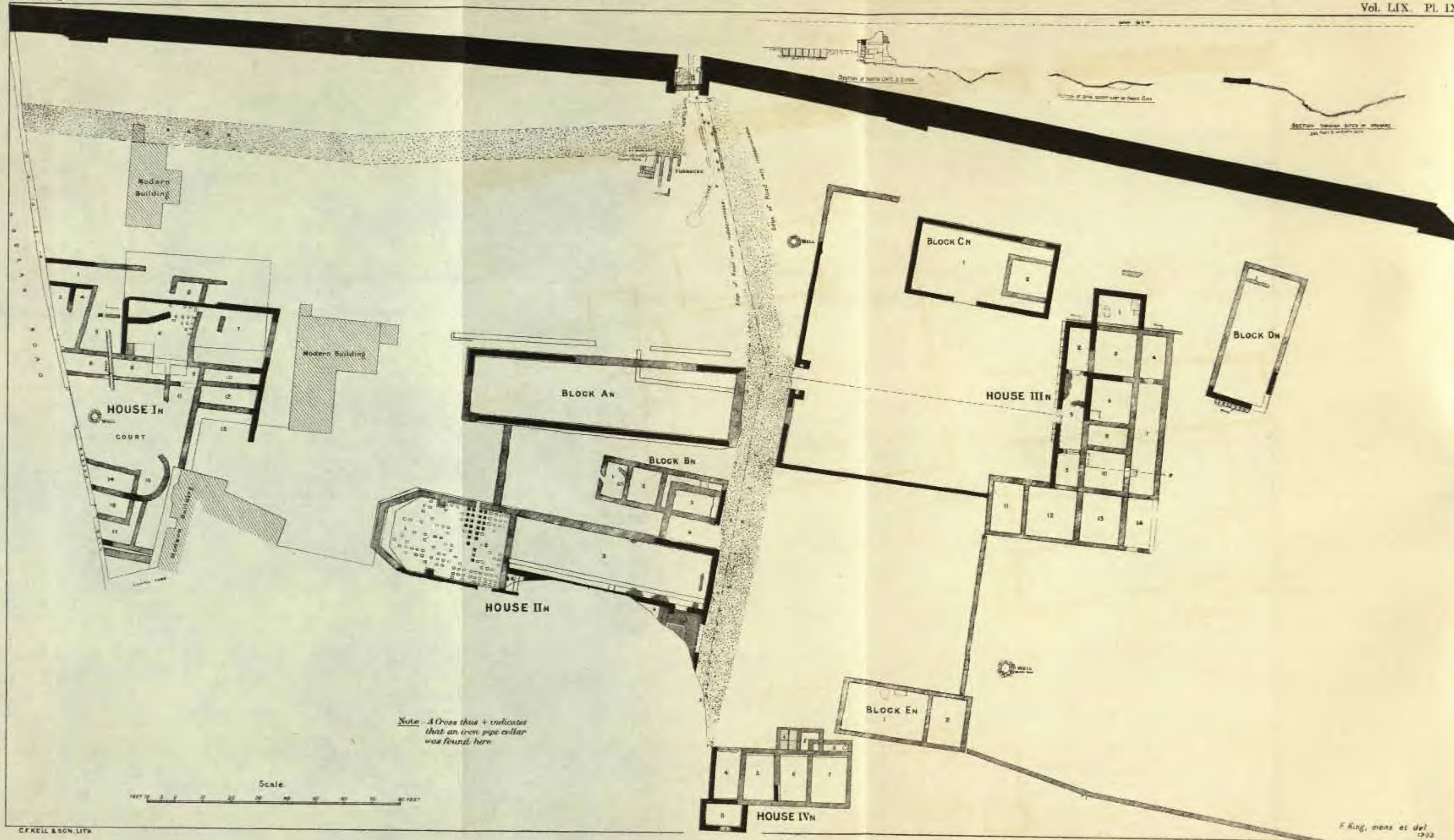


SEA FIGHT BETWEEN DUTCH AND SPANIARDS AT ENKHYUSEN, 11 OCT., 1573.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1901.



Sketch of the building complex showing the layout of the various rooms and the surrounding area.



CAERWENT.—PLAN OF NORTH GATE, HOUSES I, II, III AND IV, AND BLOCKS A, B, C, D AND E.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904

VII.—*Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the years 1901—1903. By T. ASHBY, Jun., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., A. E. HUDD, Esq., F.S.A., and A. T. MARTIN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 4th February, 1904.

I.—THE NORTH GATE AND BUILDINGS ADJACENT. (PLAN, PLATE IX.)

THE excavations upon this portion of the site have been in progress since 1901, but it was not till 1903 that they were carried so far as to enable the Committee to submit a report upon them.

The land which has been under examination there is the property of Lord Tredegar, F.S.A., and the greater part of the cost of the work has been defrayed by him. The Committee desire to take this opportunity of expressing their gratitude, and their appreciation of the great help which he has given towards the exploration of Caerwent. There is no doubt that much of the support which they have received is due to the example which he has set.

The feature of greatest interest is the North Gate itself. It cannot be said to have been discovered for the first time, for the exterior of it has always been visible, and is marked in the 25-inch Ordnance Survey;* and the interior of the

* 1881 Edition. In the Revised Edition of 1901 the "Site of North Gate" is incorrectly marked further west, where a modern road passes through the line of the north wall. It is possible that an ancient street ran at least as far as the north wall, the street separating House No. II. from House No. IV. (these numbers refer to the buildings to the south of the modern high road shown in *Archæologia*, lviii. pl. xxvi.) and passing between the building excavated by Mr. Drake in 1894 (*Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, iii. 41), and the "site from which a tessellated pavement was removed by the late Bishop of Llandaff" (Octavius Morgan in *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 425, pl. xxxiii. No. 7). Whether it passed through the city wall is quite unknown, and there is no reason for placing the North Gate here.

gate itself was brought to light in 1899 by the then owner of the land. But it was not until 1901 that it became possible to excavate the gate thoroughly.

The gate itself consists of a single opening, without guard chambers flanking it, placed at a point where the city wall makes a change in its direction, the part to the east of the gate making an angle of 5° with that to the west.^a The axis of the gate is not accurately at right angles to either line of wall, but was planned with reference to the western line of wall, as the error here is only 2° as against 7° with the eastern line. The mound^b behind the town wall has been discovered on the east of the gate, but not as yet on the west of it, so that it is impossible to tell whether the change in direction occurred in the original fortifications, or whether it was introduced by the builders of the wall. It is, however, worth noticing that the reason for this departure from the straight line (which is fairly well maintained on the other sides of the city wall) was probably the decision not to place the north-east angle of the station on low ground, where it would have been easily commanded by an attacking force, but to keep to the higher land and not sacrifice the natural advantages of the position to a desire for symmetry.

The capstones are *in situ* on the west piers inside and out, the inner being 3 inches lower in level than the outer. The inner (for section, see fig. 1) measures



Fig. 1. Section of inner impost of North Gate. (4)

3 feet 9 inches from west to east, and projects beyond the face of the pier (which is 3 feet 1 inch wide) 7 inches on the west and 1 inch on the east; it is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and 1 foot 10 inches wide at the bottom (including the 2 inches which it projects beyond the south face of the pier). The east side of the pier projects about the same distance from the gateway, whereas on the west it projects 4 feet 4 inches from the inner face of the wall; so that the west side of the pier had not a capstone for its whole extent and can hardly have been visible. This is borne out by the fact that the west end of the capstone is left rough, and by the existence of rough stones in the angle where the pier joins the main wall. The inner face of the city wall was thus almost certainly hidden by a bank of earth, so that (as is still the case at the east and west gates) the ascent into the city was made by a steep rise through a sort of cutting. This, considering that the city wall was an embankment wall supporting the plateau behind it, which lay at a level considerably above that of the ground outside it, is a perfectly natural arrangement.

^a This change of direction is not correctly represented in the 25-inch Ordnance Map.

^b See *Archaeologia*, lviii. 138.

The capstone of the internal east pier corresponds almost precisely in size, measuring 3 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 9½ inches by 9 inches thick, and has a similar moulding.*

The capstone of the west external pier measures 2 feet 2 inches along the east face, which bears a moulding (fig. 2). It is left rough on the north (outer) side as though another similar stone had come outside it; but if this were the case, as it apparently must have been, as the capstone projects only 2 feet 2 inches from the back of the pier, it is curious that the arch which springs from the piers should be set so far back, and we are compelled to suppose that there was another arch outside it, though this would make the northern arch have no less than four rows of voussoirs side by side; the inner arch has two. The capstone does not extend to the western edge of the pier, which is a further proof that another



Fig. 2. Section of outer impost of North Gate. (4)



Fig. 3. Section of cornice block of North Gate. (4)

stone came in front of it to carry a moulding right along the north face of the pier.

Two cornice blocks (fig. 3), probably from the upper part of the gate, were also found, measuring respectively 2 feet by 2 feet 5 inches over all, and 1 foot 9 inches by 2 feet over all.

The gate-piers on the outside measure 4 feet 10 inches from north to south, and are flush with the outer face of the wall. They are not bonded into the wall either on the inside or on the outside, and indeed may be said to pass right through it. The total depth of the gateway is therefore 13 feet 8 inches, while

* It has by mistake been re-erected on the external east pier. It was resting on the débris which, till recently, filled up the north side of the gate.

the space between the piers which served to take the gates when open is 7 feet deep, and recessed 7 inches back from the piers. In this wall on each side is a groove 7 inches high by 5 inches deep, and 5 feet in length, and in the back of each groove are two holes, perhaps intended for metal bolts to hold the beams which supported the gate itself;* the holes measure $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by



Fig. 4. The North Gate, from without.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ high, are lined with mortar, and are about 1 foot 6 inches deep. The grooves lie 3 feet 1 inch above the later roadway. The piers were probably originally built of large squared blocks of sandstone, but have been reconstructed at a

* It is, however, possible that these grooves served to support the roof of some later structure which was built into the gateway. The holes on the east side are not so clearly marked as those on the west.

later time with smaller stones. At present the inner piers are each about 3 feet wide; the outer piers are 3 feet 2 inches wide above all footings.

The rest of the gateway was constructed of smaller blocks of limestone and sandstone, the former predominating, and occurring exclusively in the voussoirs of the arches. These sprang separately from each of the pairs of piers and had a span of 8 feet 9 inches; the space between them, 9 feet 10 inches in width, had



Fig. 5. The North Gate, showing internal blocking.

perpendicular walls, and probably a flat ceiling, in any case a ceiling higher than and unconnected with the arches. There was very likely a chamber over the gateway, and it must have been not unlike the smaller gates in the Aurelian wall at Rome.

The history of the gate has been somewhat complicated. The only roadway of which traces have been found within the gate itself in the western half of it

lies only 4 feet 10 inches below the spring of the external arch and cannot have been the original road, which must have lain some two feet lower, as the projecting footing of the piers, which is carried right along the side walls of the gateway, shows. And this earlier roadway has actually been found within the city at a distance of 14 feet from the gate, and at a depth of 3 feet below the upper roadway.^a

The blocks of sandstone containing the round iron sockets for the pivots on which the gate turned are in their proper position with respect to the upper roadway, though it seems not impossible that they were originally in use at the lower level, the two blocks not being uniform in shape and size, though the position of the socket holes (which measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter on the west and 6 inches on the east, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth in both cases) with respect to the line of the jamb is identical.

Again, the internal piers at any rate have been reconstructed at least once, as they consist, in their present condition, mainly of small blocks of sandstone and limestone, only a few of the original blocks of sandstone, 3 feet in width, still remaining *in situ*.

At a still later date the gateway ceased to exist as such, and was blocked up by a wall on the inner side 2 feet in thickness,^b which on the west side rests upon a round base of sandstone (see section, fig. 6), 2 feet in diameter, and a few sandstone blocks, perhaps from the piers of the gate, while on the east it is supported by the lower half of the eastern gate pier, the upper part of which, with the capstone, had already disappeared, while the lower half itself is much out of the perpendicular.

An opening, 3 feet 1 inch in width and about 5 feet 2 inches in height, has been left on the west side of the east pier; it has as a lintel a large block of sand-




Fig. 6. Section of base found in blocking of North Gate. (1)

^a It is noteworthy that the upper roadway was not discovered immediately inside the gate; it did not, in fact, begin to appear for about 4 feet from it. What has been the cause of its disappearance it is difficult to say.

^b This filling is curiously inadequate, but there were no traces of any solid material to the north of it on the west side, while the east was naturally left open for the culvert. The mortar used in it is of inferior quality. It is quite possible that the wall across the gateway is later in date than the rest of the filling; it may indeed belong to the structure within the gate referred to above.

stone, 4 feet 9 inches long by 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot high, which is part of a cornice removed from some building.

The opening falls into the line of a passage which passes northwards through the gateway; its east side is formed by the wall of the gate itself, while on the west large stones from the piers have been placed up on end against the portion of the upper roadway which still remains *in situ*. To the south* this passage becomes a kind of culvert or channel, with large slabs of stone placed on end forming its sides, which can only be traced for a distance of 27 feet uphill from the gate. The black soil found in a sort of gutter in the earth which runs at the bottom of the culvert just below the bottom of the stones, could be traced 18 feet further southwards, but no further; in fact the deposit seemed to widen out, as if there had been an accumulation of drainage at this point, from which it ran down through the culvert and the opening in the gate.

The question of the culvert is, however, further complicated by another discovery. A line of wooden pipes, united by iron rings, seems to have run between the culvert stones, and can be traced in a southerly direction, as far as it has been possible to follow the road itself (see Plan). The rings to the east of House No. II N were, in fact, only reached by cutting through the gravel bed of the road (which is here 9 inches in thickness, with a layer of large stones under it, 6 inches to 1 foot in thickness) to a depth of about 1 foot 9 inches below its upper surface. They are alternately 3 inches and 4 inches in diameter (which shows that the two large ends and the two small ends of the trunks were placed together), and the wood adhering to each side of them shows that they were inserted in the thickness of the trunk, the bore of which may have been 2 inches.^b They are, as a rule, found about 5 feet 3 inches apart, where *in situ*. Two other rings and portions of a third were found in the excavations in the play-ground of the school, in a gully under the centre of this road, in most of which the road-bed had perished, though in one place the outline of the trunks seemed to be preserved.

This line of pipes may have passed through the gate in or just above a channel (the prolongation of the gutter referred to above) about 1 foot wide by 1 foot 6 inches deep, the sides of which are formed of rough stones, while the floor is of hard gravel. The top of it is 3 feet below the later roadway, so that it must have lain just under the earlier and lower roadway.^c But a few

* Part of the drum of a column 1 foot 6 inches in diameter was found hereabouts.

^b They are exactly like those found in House No. III. in 1900 (*Archaeologia*, lvii. 309). Similar rings have been found at Silchester, and also in France. See *Archaeologia*, lv. 422.

^c Three collars all about 3 inches in diameter were found close together in the gateway.

collars have been found at a higher level; a fourth, besides the three just mentioned, discovered in the gateway was actually 4 inches above the surface of the later roadway, and others were found above the stones of the culvert. These are about 4 inches in diameter, and may belong to a renewal of the northern portion of the line of pipes. Or it may be held that the construction of the culvert led to the destruction of the road-bed and the line of pipes under it, as the collars in it are found at irregular intervals, and three were actually found close together in the gateway; and this seems the better explanation. It is almost impossible that so large a channel as the culvert can have been made to carry a single line of wooden pipes. On the other hand, the opening to which the culvert leads is hardly large enough to have been left to serve as a postern after the gate as such had been blocked up, as there would not have been sufficient headway.

When the gate was excavated the space not occupied by the roadway nor by the blocking wall was found to be full of loose stones, including several voussoirs of the gate itself.

At a distance of 65 feet to the east of the gate a counterfort 15 feet long projects inwards, to the amount of 1 foot at the west end and 2 feet 2 inches at the east end.* It lies in both cases right over the rough stone foundation of the wall, and at the west end the lower part of it for 3 feet 6 inches above the top of the upper set-off is not bonded into the main wall, while at the east end the whole is bonded in. This may conceivably indicate that when the counterfort was added the lower part of the main wall at its western end was still standing and could be made use of again, whereas the rest required entire reconstruction. The counterfort can hardly have been part of the original construction, since it projects over the foundation of the wall, and its masonry is better than that of the main wall; and its mortar joints, unlike those of the main wall, are neatly pointed.

At the back of the counterfort a mass of stones and mortar has been placed to give additional strength, breaking into the slope of the mound, which has been cut away to give room for it.

The foundation trench for the wall is clearly seen west of the counterfort; it is cut through the hard clay, extending to a width of 1 foot 3 inches south of the wall at the lowest point of its rough stone foundations, but narrowing rapidly.

* This is the measurement at the highest point preserved. At the bottom of the west end the amount of projection is the same, but at the east end it is 1 foot 8 inches only, the wall battering in slightly, as does also the main city wall.

This is too deep to be a prolongation of the mound slope to the south of the counterfort, a fact which seems to indicate that this trench is cut in the slope of the mound. There are three weep-holes in the counterfort similar to those in the main wall.

Another similar counterfort 200 feet to the west of the gate is 13 feet 6 inches wide, projecting 2 feet inwards, while a third, 253 feet to the east of the gate, is 13½ feet wide and projects inwards 18 inches.

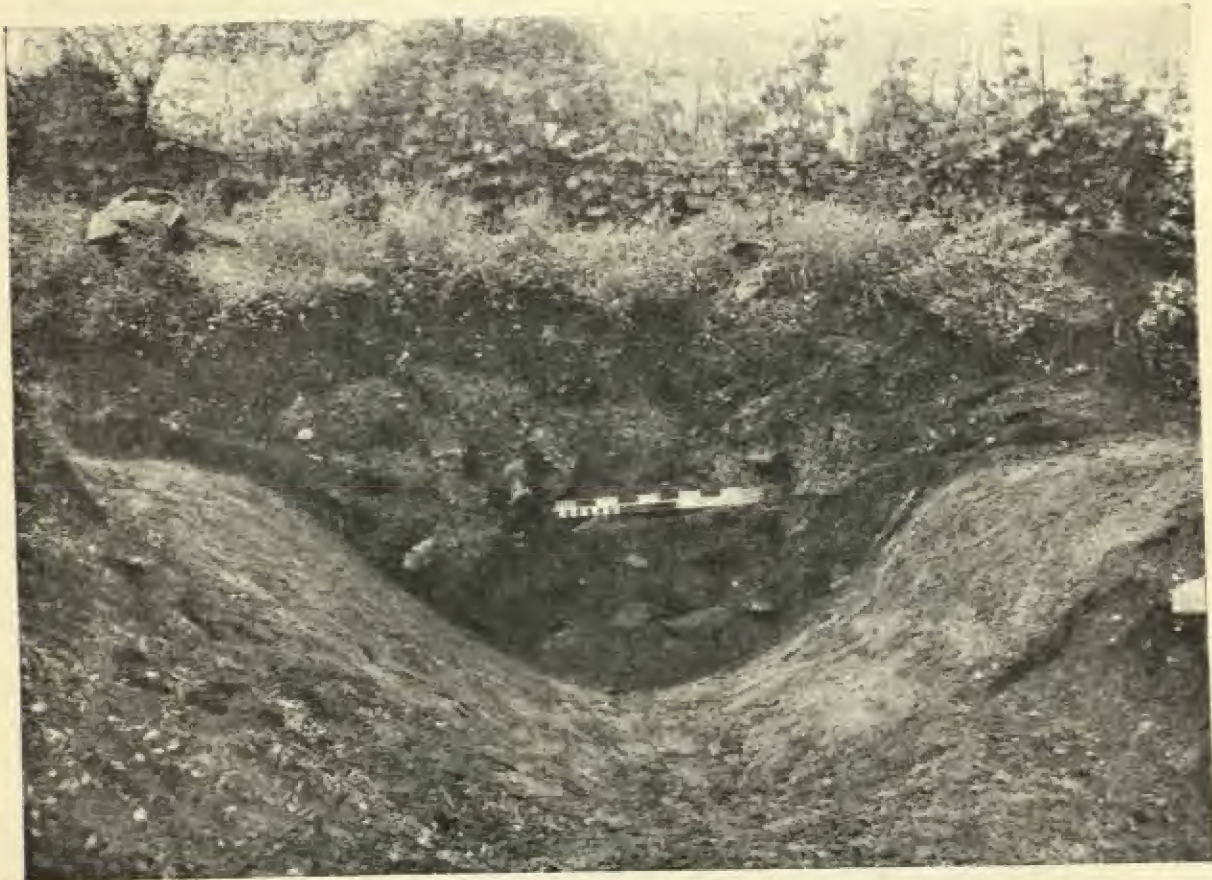


Fig. 7. Section of the ditch outside the North Gate.

After the gate had ceased to be in use the upper road surface in front of it within was occupied by a group of small furnaces, which were obviously either sunk in the soil or packed round with earth outside, as the inner side only of their walls is faced. Along the wall at the north end of the group runs a path of cobblestones 1 foot 7 inches in width. In one of them was found a group of

iron objects, including a portable anvil and a horse's bit. Burnt earth and charcoal were found in most of them.

The problem of the roads ascending from the gate into the city now claims attention. The solution of it has not been rendered easier by any discoveries outside the gate, for cultivation has so reduced the level that there are no traces of either road, nor of the prolongation of the culvert. Nothing, in fact, appears but the ditch cut in the yellow clay, which, as excavated immediately in front of the gate (fig. 7), is only 10 feet wide and 4 feet deep;* it is, however, probable that its size has been reduced by the removal of the uppermost portion of its banks. The culvert probably fell into this ditch, and as the latter slopes towards the east, there would have been no stagnation.

The remains of a roadway immediately in front of the gate on the inside must have belonged to an open space, for the only road proper which can be traced going southwards runs on the east side of the culvert, sloping up with it, and so into the interior of the city. To the west a road, about 12 feet in width, runs parallel to the city wall as far as the western boundary of the property at the modern road.^b

The road from the gate ascends in a slanting direction, with a gradient of 1 in 12, which is that of the top of the stones forming the sides of the culvert, until it reaches a well, which it leaves on the east. This well was found in a much dilapidated state; it was lined with rough stone-work for a thickness of about 1 foot 4 inches, and was about 2 feet in diameter. The stone-work did not continue right to the bottom, which was of hard red clay, but ended about 3 feet 3 inches before it was reached.^c The bottom of the well was 12 feet below the modern grass level, *i.e.* about 10 feet below the road level. No finds of special importance were made in it. The road, after passing the well, turns to run at right angles to the city wall, and passes on the east side of a long narrow building (Block A x), measuring 93 feet by 24 feet at the east end and $21\frac{1}{4}$ feet at the west, with traces of earlier walls at the north-east angle, with which was also connected the wall which runs parallel to and just outside its north wall. To the south again

* On the east it widens rapidly to about 20 feet, the widening taking place almost entirely on the north side.

^b Near the gate it lies 2 feet 10 inches below the present grass level; the roadbed, of hard gravel, is 1 foot in thickness.

^c From the fact that the stonework did not extend upwards for more than 3 feet 6 inches from its commencement it seems not at all improbable that the well was never finished. It was indeed remarkably shallow, and no water was found in it.

the road turns slightly, and corresponding with its new direction are some almost entirely destroyed walls (Block B N),^a the foundations of which are alone preserved. They were, however, originally perhaps connected structurally with a portion of a large and important building which we have called House No. II N, much of which lies outside Lord Tredegar's property.^b

House No. II N.—This building bears traces of reconstruction in its eastern portion, almost the whole of Room 3 having been added later, and the original north wall having been suppressed.^c In this long room there are traces of a border of old red sandstone *tesserae* which belong to a mosaic pavement discovered in 1881, and described in the *Papers of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association* for 1882.^d The pavement itself was broken up, and the *tesserae* conveyed to Cardiff, where they now repose in the museum in bags, the present curator, Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., having wisely declined to reconstruct the pavement in the absence of materials for an accurate reproduction of the design.^e

The south wall of this room shows traces of two coats of plaster *in situ*, the lower having a yellow dado with reddish splashes, the upper a red dado with a red quarter round moulding at the foot of it, corresponding in level with the border of the mosaic pavement of the room. Fragments of the decoration of the upper portion of the walls were also recovered. Belonging to the lowest layer are many pieces with a field of red splashed with black, while the upper layer had in places a green or strawberry coloured ground splashed with mauve and red; this latter has itself been hacked to make it take a third coat, of which hardly any traces remain.

This room led westwards to a very large hypocaust (No. 2). The stokehole,

^a Measurements in feet: (3) 14 by 7½; (2) 10½ by 12; (1) 7½ by 12.

^b The dimensions of the several rooms are in feet: (1) 18 by 27, the west end is the half of a regular hexagon with sides 14 feet in length; (2) 24 by 27; (3) 71 by 19½.

^c From this earlier wall near the middle of Room 3 a cross wall runs southwards, upon the west side of which are some remains of green plaster. The cross wall was naturally suppressed in the later house; at any rate the only portion of it that we have been able to lay bare.

^d P. 22 (with one plate, from a drawing made for Mr. Octavius Morgan). Cf. also *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. viii. 542, and the article by the same writer in *Archaeologia*, xxxvi. 418-437, and pl. xxxiii., already cited. In his list of discoveries (p. 425) Mr. Morgan notes: "3. Remains of two tessellated pavements, in great part destroyed" at a point corresponding to the east end of House No. II N.

^e Upon the north wall of this room lies a mass of concrete with a slab beneath and lined vertically with slabs of old red sandstone. It may be a lime kiln, as it seems posterior to the destruction of the wall, and contained much lime rubbish.

1 foot 6 inches wide, with tiled sides, is on the north side, and the *pilæ* in the immediate neighbourhood of it are formed of tiles 10 inches square, the rest being single blocks of sandstone from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches in height and varying from 8 inches to 1 foot in thickness.* This room led by a wide opening with either arched or flat lintel, supported by two pilasters of masonry which project 2 feet on each side, into another room which terminates in a regular half hexagon, and which was also heated by a continuation of the same hypocaust. The building



Fig. 8. South wall of Room 2, House II x.

did not apparently extend further west, but the shape of this room is extremely unusual. The end walls have very wide footings both within and without.

Room 2 had a fine mosaic pavement in at least eight colours, white, blue-

* See the section of a precisely similar hypocaust in House No. II. Room 14, in *Archaeologia* lviii. pl. viii.

black, green, dark brown, light brown, red, yellow, salmon pink, with a border of dark brown *tesserae* 1 inch square. Of this pavement many small fragments have been found, though it has not been possible to gain any clue as to the design of the whole; its destruction is due to the use of the site as a kitchen garden. The *tesserae* vary in size from $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch square. There have also been found many fragments of wall plaster, which will require protracted study if anything is to be made of the design. It is curious that Room 1 has produced far fewer fragments of pavement, and hardly any fallen wall plaster, though, if proof were needed that it was decorated in this way, there is plaster still *in situ* in the angle between the main wall and the southern of the two pilasters dividing it from Room 2. The concrete bed of the pavement was 5 inches thick. The south wall of Rooms 1 and 2 is preserved to a considerable height, over 6 feet, above the floor of the hypocaust, and nearly 4 feet above the pavement level, and the doorway, 5 feet in width, at the south side of Room 2, is clearly to be seen. Three vertical slits are also visible in the wall (fig. 8), of which the westernmost (in Room 1) alone extends down to the floor level, but not below its upper surface, while the two to the east do not come within a foot of it, so that it seems hard to imagine that these can have been used to contain flue tiles, as would otherwise have seemed probable.

To the south of Room 3 is a corridor (Room 4). Most of it lies under the next garden, but a portion of the room at the east end (Room 5) has been laid bare, showing that it had a pavement* of black and white chequers, each square measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with a broad border of old red sandstone *tesserae*. There are also traces of a similar border in Room 4.

Before the corridor was formed there must have been a room 10 feet wide in its west portion, and to the east of it a room of uncertain width. Some way to the south of this room in the next garden is a well, which has always been reputed to be Roman, but has never been properly explored.^b

The building may have extended southwards as far as the street running east and west, but the excavations have not yet made this certain.

* Under this pavement runs a solid foundation of stones cemented together for at least 4 feet, as though the ground had been insecure when this part of the house was built.

^b Mr. Octavius Morgan notes in his article already cited the existence in the south-east angle of this garden of (No. 5) "remains of a ruined hypocaust with sandstone pillars," which has, we were told, been found again quite recently, and in the south-west portion of it (No. 6) "two semicircular walls, apparently parts of towers" (*sic*).

House No. IX.—To the west of House No. II N were discovered the remains of a building which has been designated House No. IX, though whether it is one house or more is uncertain. Its western portion lies under a modern road, and has in consequence not been explored;* but it seems to have had a large courtyard in which was a well, 2 feet 3 inches in diameter, lined with stonework, 1 foot 6 inches in width, and 19 feet deep to the bottom. Nothing was found in it but a quantity of bones of animals, chiefly cattle.

On the north side of the courtyard can be traced a range of rooms (3-7), with perhaps a corridor on the north (1) and south (8, 9). No discoveries of note were made in any of these rooms except in Room 6, which had a hypocaust supported by stone *pilæ* 2 feet in height, and varying in breadth and thickness from 11 inches by 7 inches to 1 foot by 9 inches. Remains of the mosaic pavement were found, and the only piece of any size is now preserved in the Museum. The *tesserae* are white, blue-black, light brown, and red, and are very small, measuring about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch square, and well laid. The design is geometrical.

It would appear that this room has undergone reconstruction at some period, for the wall projecting into it on the west side has built into it two of the stone *pilæ* belonging to the hypocaust, and it is a possible supposition, rendered, it must be said, improbable by the discovery of fragments of the mosaic pavement, that in the last days of Caerwent the hypocaust was undergoing a process of destruction, which was never completed. This hypocaust happened to fall within the shed which is now used as a museum, and it has therefore been possible to preserve it *in situ* without difficulty.

In the south-west corner of Room 6 was found a small capital without abacus.

The drain passing across the space numbered 5 and the corridor (8) runs for a length of 22 feet and is 9 inches wide and about 6 inches deep; it was paved with old red sandstone slabs and had sides of rough limestone blocks, being partly roofed with slabs of limestone. It sloped gently northwards. The stone at the south end, which partially blocked the drain, may have been merely a fallen block or may be the corner stone of a turn.

* It probably extended as far as the street referred to above. The dimensions of the several rooms are as follows: No. 1, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; No. 2, $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet by 7 feet; No. 3, $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide; No. 4, $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 6, $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 20 feet; No. 7, $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 20 feet; No. 8, 6 feet wide; No. 9, 10 feet by 6 feet; No. 10, 20 feet by $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet; No. 12, $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 13, $19\frac{3}{4}$ feet broad; No. 14, $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide; No. 15, 8 feet radius; No. 16, $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide; No. 17, $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide.

The purpose of the spaces numbered 10, 12, is uncertain, while the large Room 13 is to a great extent destroyed, and the south-east angle of the building lies beneath a modern cottage, in front of which are situated the spaces numbered 14 to 17. Room 15, with its apsidal termination, can hardly have coexisted with Rooms 14 and 16, and as the southern end of the apse wall makes a straight joint against their east wall, it is probably a later addition, to which the wall dividing the spaces 14 and 16 belongs. These may have been one room originally, which was suppressed when Room 15 was built, unless the walls were mere sleeper walls beneath the floor.

A large part of a human skeleton was found at the broken or unfinished end of the apse wall.

To the south of Room 17 is a space about a foot in width, and to the south of this a wall 2 feet 6 inches in thickness, probably the north wall of another house.

On the east side of the road from the North Gate, which is here about 14 feet wide, and opposite to Block A N, is the entrance to a large courtyard measuring 99 feet by 93; the double gateway was 8 feet in width, and the iron socket for the pivot, 3 inches in diameter, and leaded into the stone, is still *in situ* on the north side, while on the south the place where it stood is still traceable. The foundations of the north wall of the court seem to have been laid on the crown of the mound. The court forms an approach to three buildings, House No. III N and Blocks C N and D N.

Block C N, which we reach first, is entered on the south; a small portion of the courtyard is here paved with rough pitching. It consists of only two rooms measuring (1) 32 feet by $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet, (2) (enclosed in 1) 14 feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There is no trace of any flooring in either room.

House No. III N.—To the east of it is House No. III N,^a which consists of a range of rooms running north and south, with a narrower range on each side of them, and some extra rooms on the south. The main entrance was from the courtyard into Room 5 by a double doorway, the threshold stone^b of which,

^a The dimensions of the several rooms are as follows: No. 1, $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet by 11 feet; No. 2, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 3, $14\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 4, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $26\frac{3}{4}$ feet; No. 6, 14 feet by $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet; No. 7, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 8, 14 feet by $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet; No. 9, $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 10, 14 feet by $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 11, $10\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 12, 17 feet by $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 13, $13\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 14, 9 feet by $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

^b The number of threshold stones preserved is remarkable; they are all of oolite.

5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with an aperture of 4 feet, is still *in situ*. (Fig. 9.) It has a bolt hole in the centre and a leaded socket hole on the east side, the object of which is not clear. This room was paved with red brick *tesserae* 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, and roughly cut.

To the north is Room 2, entered by a door, the threshold of which is 4 feet 6 inches wide, the doorway being about 3 feet wide; it was paved with concrete. On the south is another entrance by a single doorway 3 feet 2 inches in width, the threshold slab of which measures 5 feet by 1 foot 11 inches, into Room 9, through which the southern range (Rooms 11-13) was probably reached; Rooms 2, 5, and 9 thus served as a corridor, though this was subdivided by doors to a greater extent than usual. On the east of the building a similar corridor is formed by Rooms 4 and 7, and Room 14 may perhaps be treated as forming the south end of this corridor.

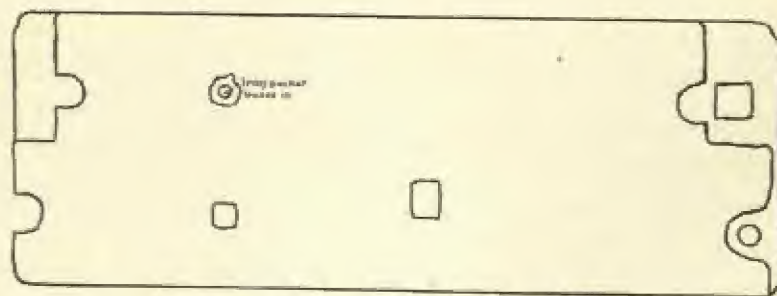


Fig. 9. Threshold stone in House No. III N. (1/2)

The central range of rooms (Rooms 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, and 13) does not present any remains of doorways, and how the rooms were entered is in some cases uncertain. Room 1, which may have been a latrine, was reached from Room 3, and was paved with slabs of old red sandstone.

Along the north wall of Rooms 2, 3, and 4 runs a drain, which passes through Room 1, entering and leaving it by a square aperture in the angle of the wall. The drain is about 6 inches wide, with a floor of sandstone slabs, and sides of blocks of limestone. It could not be followed more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the east.

At the north-west corner of the house a line of old red sandstone slabs followed the west wall as far as the doorway from the court into Room 5, and continued again a little further to the south. They probably took droppings from the eaves.

Room 3 has a gravel concrete floor. It was not accessible from Room 6 on the south, but the walls are not preserved to a sufficient height to show what

other doorways it may have had. We have already seen that it opened into Room 1, but whether it was approached from Room 2 or Room 4, or from both, is quite uncertain. Room 6, on the other hand, was only entered from Room 7 or Room 8, while with regard to the floors and doorways in the southern portion of the house we can say nothing. Apparently there was a door from Room 7 into Room 10, as there is an aperture in the wall 3 feet 6 inches wide, with a slab of sandstone in Room 10, 2 feet 3 inches wide, serving as a step. In the south-west corner of Room 6 is a hearth, 3 feet by 4 feet, built of slabs of stone; but there are no other remains of interest in any of the rooms.

In Room 7 a black pot, 7 inches in diameter at the mouth, with lozenge-shaped decoration formed by incised lines, was found; also a lead scale weight, weighing 2 lbs. 8½ ozs., and a large bronze ring of a curious type.

The southern wall of the courtyard runs up to the west wall of Room 11, from the south-west angle of which a wall runs south to Block E N. To the east of this wall, at the western edge of a large open space which extends as far as the amphitheatre, is a well, 3 feet in diameter at the top and 2 feet 9 inches at the bottom, and 25 feet in depth; it was lined with masonry within 9 inches of the clay bottom, which was dished to collect the water. In it were found the upper stone of a quern (7 feet down), an iron pickaxe, a hook which fitted on a wooden shaft, and skulls of various animals.

To the east of House No. III N is Block D N, a rectangular building measuring 18½ feet by 46½ feet, and containing in the north-west corner remains of rough walling, with a slab of old red sandstone, 2½ inches thick, placed on edge, for what purpose it is difficult to guess. On the south side, just outside the south wall, is a drain running eastwards for a length of 13 feet. It was V-shaped, about 6 inches wide at the bottom, which was not floored, and 1 foot wide at the top, and covered with slabs of sandstone, which lay about 4 feet below present ground level.

House No. IV N.—On the east side of the road opposite to House No. II N is an open space in which débris, broken wall plaster, etc. were found, but further south are the remains of two more buildings. The northernmost (Block E N) consists only of two rooms, measuring 29 feet by 17 feet^a and 12 feet by 17 feet, but the latter, House No. IV N, is complete in itself.^b Its orientation differs sufficiently from that

^a Close to the north wall of Room 1 are two limestone paving blocks, which have either served as a step or are fragments of the original flooring.

^b The dimensions in feet of the rooms of this house are as follows: (1) 6 by 7; (2) 6½ by 6¼; (3) 9 by 2½; (4) 9 by 17; (5) 10½ by 16¼; (6) 8¼ by 16½; (7) 12½ by 17; (8) 13 by 8.

of House No. II x to enable the road to pass between them. Room 4 is probably a shop with a large double doorway, with two threshold stones, giving a total width of 8 feet 5 inches. The space between the grooves for the wooden door frames is 7 feet 6 inches, and there is a bolt-hole nearly in the centre. The room opens on to the street, and has no communication with the rest of the house. Room 8 is similarly cut off, and has a small doorway on the south side, 4 feet in width between the grooves which took the door-frames, the stone threshold of which, 5 feet in width, is still *in situ*. It had a gravel concrete floor, 2 feet 2 inches below grass level. The other rooms call for no remark, except No. 1, which is paved with four large slabs of old red sandstone, while Room 3, at the west end, seems to have contained a rubbish or latrine pit, 2 feet 8 inches deep, in which some pottery was found.

Room 3, from its size and shape, is probably a storeroom; at its east end an amphora, 1 foot 10 inches in diameter, was found built into the floor. The north wall of Room 3, however, appears to pass through the lower courses of the east wall of Room 2, though it is crossed by its upper courses. Rooms 1 and 2 are therefore probably a later addition. The walls being as a rule destroyed above foundation level, the position of the doorways cannot be ascertained.

It appears that at some period the north wall of Rooms 5—7 has been reconstructed, and that to this change the separation of Room 3 from Room 7 is due.

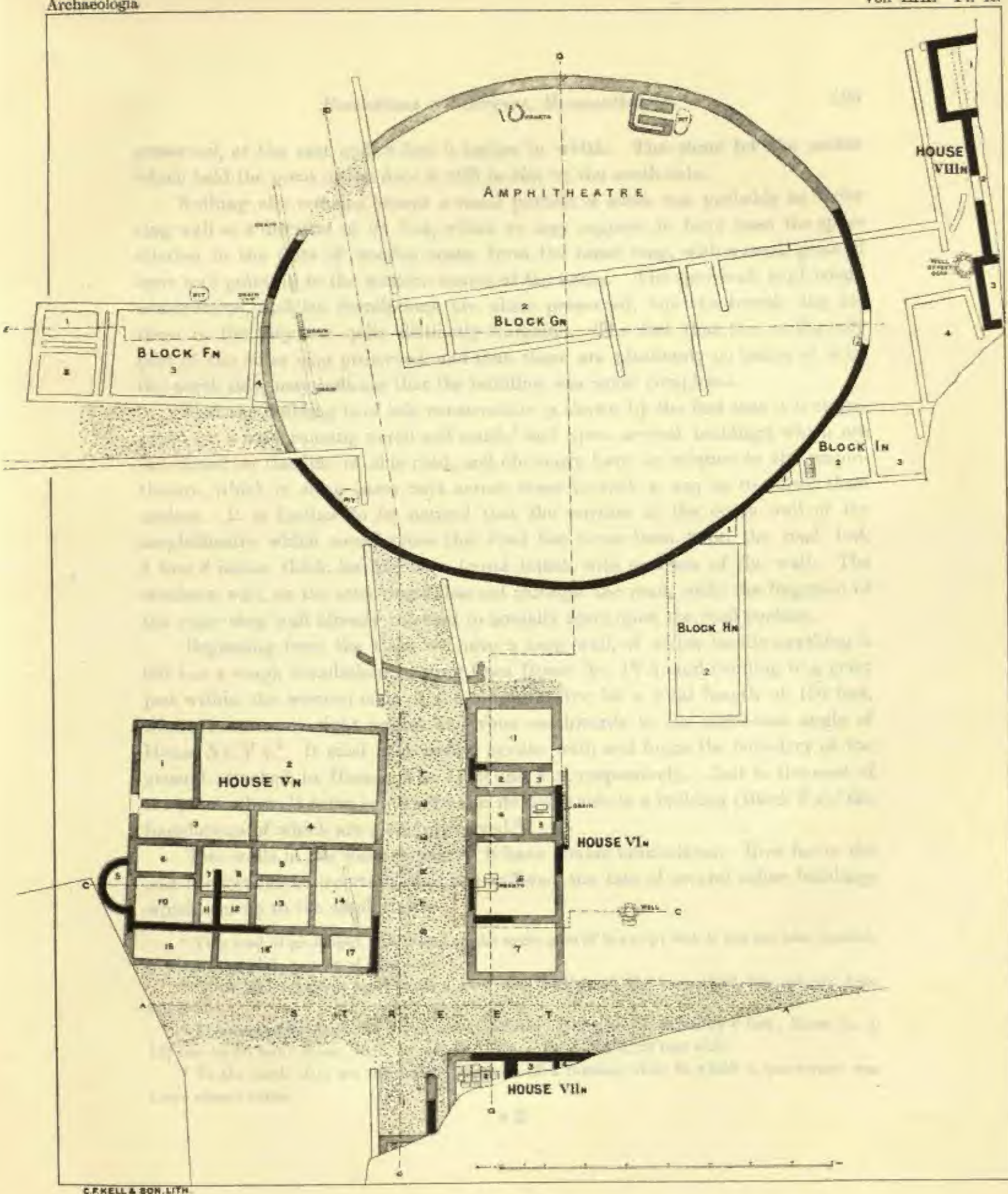
II. THE AMPHITHEATRE AND THE BUILDINGS ROUND IT. (PLAN, PLATE X.)

One of the most interesting discoveries made at Caerwent has been that of the amphitheatre, situated within the town walls, a little to the east of the centre of the north side. Its remains are, however, curiously scanty, consisting only of a single wall 2 feet in thickness,* enclosing an ellipse of 145 feet by 121 feet.^b

Of the entrances to this space, which was most likely the arena, only one is

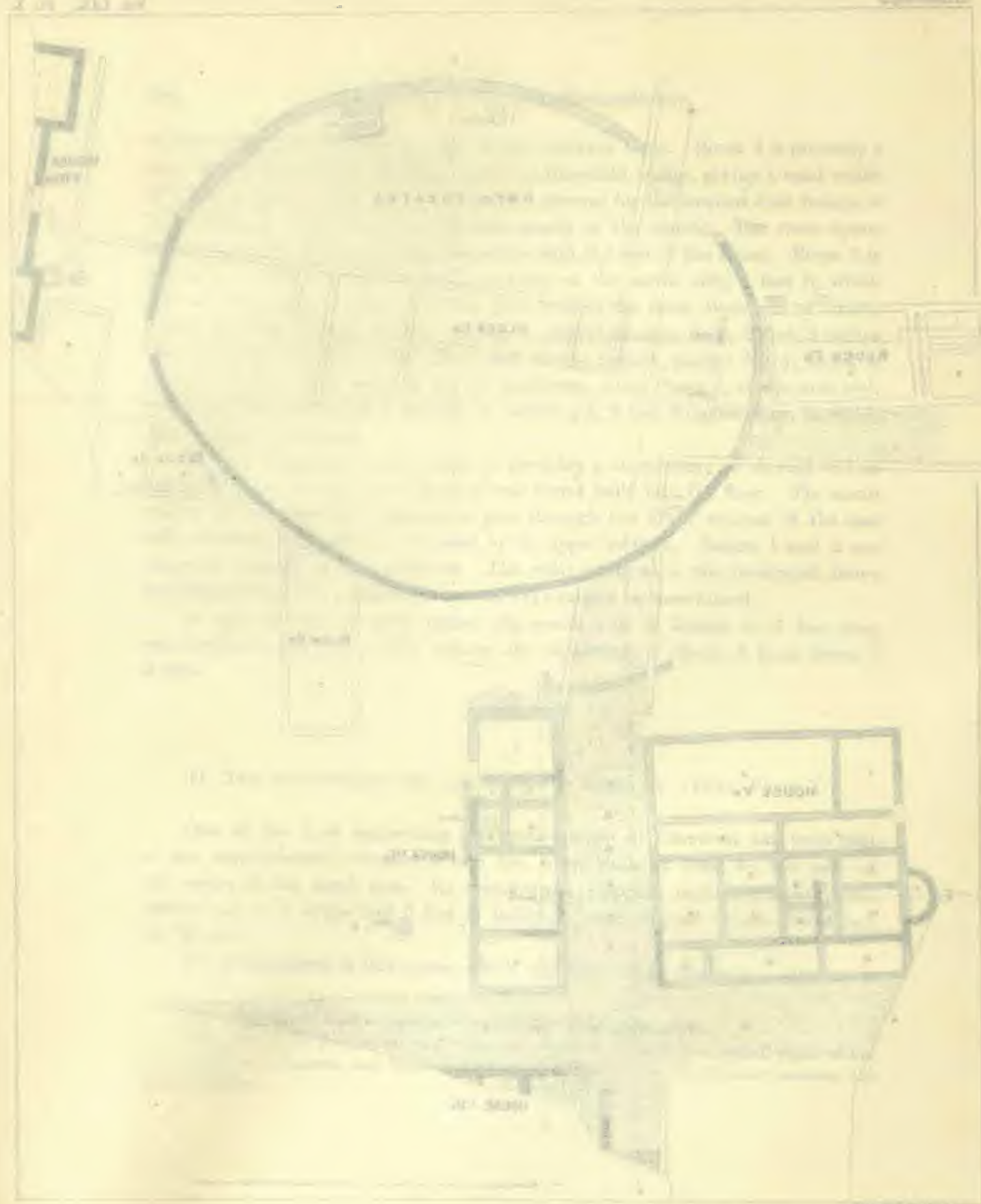
* On the north side the foundations, 3 feet thick, are alone preserved.

^b The arena of the Amphitheatre at Cirencester, which is enclosed by a mound, measures 148 feet by 134 feet (Buckman and Newmarch, *Corinium*, 12), while that at Silchester measures 150 feet by 120 feet.



• CAERWENT.—PLAN OF HOUSES Vn, VIn, VIn & VIn, BLOCKS Fn, Gn, Hn & In, AND THE AMPHITHEATRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904



preserved, at the east end, 8 feet 6 inches in width. The stone for the socket which held the pivot of the door is still *in situ* on the south side.

Nothing else remains except a small portion of what was probably an outer ring wall at a distance of 25 feet, which we may suppose to have been the space allotted to the tiers of wooden seats, from the inner ring, with a small piece of spur wall pointing to the western centre of the arena. The spur wall is of rough construction, and its foundations are alone preserved, but the trench dug for them in the clay was quite distinctly traceable. The fact that this is the only part of the outer ring preserved, and that there are absolutely no traces of it on the north side, may indicate that the building was never completed.

That the building is of late construction is shown by the fact that it is superposed on a road running north and south,^a and upon several buildings which are orientated on the line of this road, and obviously have no relation to the amphitheatre, which in some cases cuts across them in such a way as to render them useless. It is further to be noticed that the portion of the north wall of the amphitheatre which would cross this road has never been built, the road bed, 1 foot 8 inches thick, having been found intact, with no trace of the wall. The southern wall, on the other hand, has cut through the road, while the fragment of the outer ring wall already referred to actually rests upon the road surface.

Beginning from the west, we have a long wall, of which hardly anything is left but a rough foundation, starting from House No. IV N, and running to a point just within the western edge of the amphitheatre for a total length of 160 feet, where it turns at right angles and runs southwards to the north-east angle of House No. V N.^b It must have been a garden wall, and forms the boundary of the ground attached to Houses Nos. III N and V N, respectively. Just to the west of the point where it turns southwards on its north side is a building (Block F N),^c the foundations of which are alone preserved.^d

Two walls in the western part of it have double foundations. How far to the east it extended is uncertain, as it has suffered the fate of several other buildings which run up to the amphitheatre.

^a This road, if prolonged, would lead to the south gate of the city; but it has not been possible to trace the middle portion of its course.

^b It has also a branch southwards a good deal further to the west which has not yet been followed.

^c The measurements of the rooms are as follows: Room No. 1, 13 feet by 6 feet; Room No. 2, 13½ feet by 10 feet; Room No. 3, 33 feet by 21 feet; Room No. 4, 22 feet wide.

^d To the north of it are the doubtful remains of a furnace, close to which a quern-stone was found almost entire.

On the north side of Room 3, a small pit was found 6 feet 4 inches in depth from the grass level, and 4 feet 5 inches from the footing of the house wall. No discoveries of importance were made in it. A little to the east of this, a small portion, 3 feet 10 inches in length, of a drain 10 inches wide and 6 inches deep, formed of old red sandstone slabs (apparently, as in other cases, old roof slates) was found running alongside of the house wall. No trace of roofing to this drain was found. From this building came a good specimen of an iron sheath to a wooden spade.

To the south of Block F N, between it and the long wall, there are remains of what is probably a pitching of rough stones,^a which may have formed an approach to the amphitheatre, though they do not exactly correspond with the line of its axis, which is shown by the section line.

House No. V N.—To the south is a large open space, belonging perhaps to a house (No. V N)^b which lies upon the north side of a street running east and west, parallel to the highroad which traverses the centre of the city and corresponding in distance from it and from the city wall with the road in the south portion of the town.

This house appears to have had two large rooms (1, 2) on the north, of which Room 2 may have been added later than Room 1, to judge by the condition of the foundations at the point where they join, but it seems to have consisted essentially of a range of rooms (6-14) with a corridor on the north (3, 4) and not her on the south (15-17).

Room 5 is an apse,^d apparently a later addition,^e for neither of its ends

^a They rest merely upon earth, and it is possible that they should be treated merely as fallen rubbish.

^b The dimensions of the several rooms on the plan are as follows: Room No. 1, 13½ feet by 17½ feet; Room No. 2, 43½ feet by 18 feet; Room No. 3, 27½ feet by 7½ feet; Room No. 4, 29 feet by 7½ feet; Room No. 5, 5½ feet radius; Room No. 6, 14½ feet by 6½ feet; Room No. 7, 3 feet by 10¾ feet; Room No. 8, 7 feet by 10¾ feet; Room No. 9, 12¾ feet by 6½ feet; Room No. 10, 14½ feet by 11 feet; Room No. 11, 3 feet by 6¾ feet; Room No. 12, 7 feet by 6¾ feet; Room No. 13, 13 feet by 11 feet; Room No. 14, 14 feet by 19 feet; Room No. 15, 19 feet by 7½ feet; Room No. 16, 25½ feet by 7½ feet; Room No. 17, 10 feet by 7½ feet.

^c *Archæologia*, lviii. pl. viii.

^d Against its chord wall, near its north end, is a small trough, perhaps originally used for a post Roman burial, with sides formed of old red sandstone slates. It measures 1 foot 1 inch in width; the length is not fully preserved.

^e If the existence of straight joints be any guide, it is noticeable that they occur at the points

correspond with any wall going eastwards, and the crosswall runs right between Rooms 6 and 10 up to the chord, and must have been suppressed when the apse was built, making Rooms 5, 6, and 10 into one room; but how far these and other walls are to be treated as sleeper walls is not altogether clear, for the floor level is not preserved except in Rooms 7, 12, 13, 14, and 17, where a pebble concrete floor may be seen. The wall which runs irregularly across Room 14 is probably of later date, being only 1 foot 2 inches in thickness. There is also a piece of rough foundation partly across the north wall of Room 9.

The poverty of the finds made in the house is remarkable, and few discoveries of interest were made. In working along the north wall of the house two capitals of columns were found, one having a drum 11 inches in diameter, with a total diameter of 1 foot 4 inches; the mouldings, however, are much worn away. The height is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The other is a capital with an abacus 1 foot by 11 inches, in which is a hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square. It is only preserved to a height of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the rest having been cut away and the round part of the capital hollowed out into a basin $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth. In Room 7 was found a little plaster, red with salmon line and white with chocolate line.

To the south of this house is the road running from east to west. It is composed of rough stones bedded on a hard mass of gravel and sand with stones intermixed, and the road-bed has a total thickness of 1 foot 6 inches. Its width is not traceable at this point and it gradually dies off into the gravel paving of a yard, as there are no buildings on the south of it.^a In the portion of this which we have dug no discoveries of importance were made, and it would seem as if there had been at one time a depression at the south end, as the natural bottom was not reached until $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the modern surface level. This was, however, covered by a bed of hard gravel and small bits of stone, 10 inches in thickness, lying at a varying depth (2 feet 10 inches more or less). A quantity of oyster shells were found here.

The east of House No. V x is skirted by the road which ran southwards from the neighbourhood of the north city wall to the south gate, which was situated, not

of contact of the walls of 3 and 4 with 6, 8, 9, 14, so that 1 to 4 may have been added later. But the utmost they can prove is that the whole house was not built all at the same time: the lack of bonding can hardly in such cases, especially low down in a wall, imply real differences of date.

^a A small building of irregular outline built upon it opposite to the west end of House No. V x has walls with only the inner faces made, i.e. only one stone thick, and is certainly of later date. The road bed runs right under it.

opposite to the north gate, but further to the east. The road-bed east of House No. Vx is composed of a hard mixture of gravel and sandy stuff, and a layer of stone chippings forming a total thickness of 1 foot 9 inches.

A later wall has been built over it at this point, running north and south for a length of 22 feet, and further north it is interrupted by the only existing fragment of the outer wall of the amphitheatre. Here it can be clearly traced; but when it passes within the amphitheatre it seems to have been destroyed, and only a pebble bottom (probably natural) is traceable. We soon, however, come to a drain which seems to have skirted its west side. For the distance of 7 feet the stonework of rough pieces of limestone is preserved; the channel was V-shaped (roughly), 10 inches wide at the top, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the bottom, the stones on each side being 10 or 11 inches wide and 2 inches thick; the roof was formed by rough irregular stones and fragments of roof tiles. Here was found a small enamelled rosette about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter enclosed in a bronze ring. After the stonework gives out the drain can be traced in the clay; it contains black stuff and much pottery, and measures about 1 foot 9 inches in width at the top, 1 foot at the bottom, and about 9 inches in depth. Its section can be clearly seen passing under the north wall of the amphitheatre, which has been built across it and has blocked it up. At a distance of 18 feet 6 inches to the north of this wall it appears to give out, but is taken up after an interval of 21 feet 4 inches by another similar drain, which measures 2 feet in width at the top and 1 foot at the bottom, and 1 foot 4 inches in depth, which also contained much pottery. After a course of 28 feet 10 inches the drain again gave out, but its contents seem to have fallen, after an interval of 1 foot, into a stone drain formed of blocks of limestone with a floor of sandstone slabs, of which but little is preserved, measuring 1 foot 2 inches in width and 8 inches in depth. This drain seems to come to an end after a course of 26 feet to the north, but this part of the site has not been thoroughly explored.

The road is very clearly marked at the point where it leaves the amphitheatre, and is 1 foot 8 inches thick. As has been said, there are at this point no signs of the wall of the amphitheatre, nor any traces of its ever having been built. But to the north of the amphitheatre the road bed is not at all preserved, and the drain is the only guide, except for the existence of a wall on the east side of the road, giving a width of about 20 feet. The road bed may have been destroyed in the course of construction of the amphitheatre, or may have perished by exposure, as the ground falls away rapidly here.

On the east of this road, before the amphitheatre was constructed, there existed a building which we have called Block G x. The dimensions of the rooms are as follows: Room 1, 9 feet 7 inches by $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet; Room 2, $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, of which very little can be made out, as only the foundations of its walls are preserved. Its long main wall runs under almost the whole length of the amphitheatre, and on the east is connected with House No. VIII x,^a which lies almost entirely outside Lord Tredegar's property.^b It is interesting to notice here and in several other cases how the field boundaries follow, with slight divergences which must have been made in process of time, the lines of the streets and houses of the Roman city.

House No. VIII x.—Room 1 of House No. VIII x once contained a mosaic pavement of which nothing is preserved *in situ*, though some of the *tesserae*, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch square, of the border of old red sandstone and some smaller red, blue, black, and white *tesserae* from the centre, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, have been recovered. A good bar padlock was found here. The room has been extended westward in later times; a suppressed wall, prolonging northwards the line of the west wall of Room 2, can be traced below the floor level. In Room 1 were found several flanged tiles with scored backs (Fig. 10), measuring 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, including the flanges, which were 1 inch thick; they seem to have been used for carrying the wall plaster and

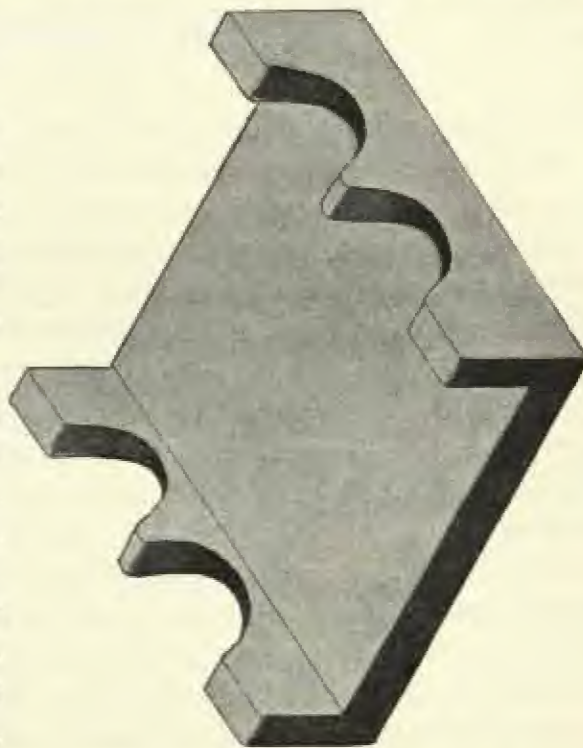


Fig. 10. Flanged tile found in Room 1, House No. VIII x.

^a The dimensions of the several rooms of House No. VIII x are as follows: Room No. 1, 16 feet wide; Room No. 2, 34 feet wide; Room No. 3, $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide.

^b In the next field Mr. Octavius Morgan (*loc. cit.*) notes (No. 1) "remains of tessellated pavement, disturbed and partly destroyed," close to the boundary, and, further to the east (No. 24), "remains of the foundations of several rooms," the latter even now clearly visible.

keeping it dry, and not as flue tiles. In Room 2 many stone roof slates were found and much burnt earth.

Close to the north-west angle of Room 3, in a kind of yard, was a well 3 feet 6 inches in diameter at the top, and 3 feet at 10 feet 4 inches from the top, where it was lined with walling 2 feet 9 inches in thickness on the north, 2 feet 3 inches on the west, 1 foot 5 inches on the south, and 2 feet on the east. The stones were large, and not mortared. At 15 feet 10 inches below ground level the stonework measured 2 feet 8 inches thick on the north, 1 foot 8 inches on the east, 1 foot 9 inches on the south, and 2 feet 1 inch on the west. The diameter of the well was 3 feet. At 20 feet 3 inches water was found. The diameter of the pit in which the well was dug was 6 feet 2 inches from south-east to north-west, and 5 feet 11 inches from north-west to south-east, the stonework being much ruined. At 23 feet 3 inches the well measured 2 feet 2 inches from north to south, and 2 feet from east to west, while the whole pit measured 5 feet 10 inches from north to south, and 5 feet 8 inches from east to west. The well was mostly full of loose stones, the fall of which had dislocated the stonework on the south. The soils here were mixed, good dark red clay, sand, and rock; the latter began at 20 feet 1 inch, at which depth a small bit of fine glass came out, and there was no regular stratification. On the south side the stonework was in such a dilapidated condition that the whole had to be gradually removed. The bottom was reached at 27 feet 9 inches below the ground level. It was of clay and dished.

The discoveries in the well were of small importance; a certain amount of charred oak-wood and twigs was found, also some bones of cows, some ordinary pottery, and some fragments of the staves and bands of the bucket, from 23 feet 3 inches to 27 feet; also hazel nuts and twigs. Just on the top of the well were found fragments of a human skeleton; at 15 feet 10 inches a coin of Etruscilla, wife of Decius, a Gratian or Valentinian, and an illegible silver coin.

The west wall of Room 3 of House No. VIII x was carried upon two large slabs of sandstone over the stonework of the well, one measuring 1 foot 6 inches by 4 feet 7 inches by 6 inches. None of these walls, however, actually blocked the opening of the well, and there is no ground for supposing that it was suppressed in Roman times. To the west of Room 2 is part of a roughly constructed apse.

To the north of Block G x, just within the area of the amphitheatre, are two round open furnaces, and to the east of them what are perhaps the remains of a

large channelled furnace, with a pit at the east end, in which, though not in the channels, much burnt material was found. It seems to have co-existed with the amphitheatre wall, which in fact forms part of it. The channels are 1 foot 11 inches deep, and vary in width.

To the north of the amphitheatre are the remains of a building, as yet not completely explored.

There seems to have been a depression in the ground close to the amphitheatre on the north-east, in which was a large shallow rubbish pit, the limits of which have not yet been exactly traced. The deepest portion is 7 feet below grass level. A comparatively small amount of pottery was found in the black and obviously disturbed soil.

House No. VI N.—To the south of the amphitheatre, and on the east side of the road running southwards, is a building which we have called House No. VI N.* It consists simply of a range of rooms without any connecting corridor or passage. At the north end is some solid pitching, big stones, and gravel below, which seems to extend nearly to the inner amphitheatre wall; the object of this is quite uncertain. Room 2 had a floor of slabs of sandstone, and in Room 4 was found a little red plaster; while Room 5 contains what appears to have been a furnace, a trough 2 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 2 inches; the blocks of which it is composed showed strong traces of burning. In Room 6 there is another furnace, with flue opening 10 inches wide. The north side of its interior is destroyed. In the cross-wall between Rooms 6 and 7 a portion of a quern was built into the wall.^b Room 7 has a hard gravel concrete floor, preserved above the level of its south wall, which has been destroyed to a great extent. To the south of it again is a single line of stones, which seems to form the edging of the road.

On the east side is an open drain, the west side and bottom of which are formed of slabs of old red sandstone, the east side of blocks of limestone; it measures 10 inches wide and 6 inches deep. It is only preserved for a length of 19 feet to the east of Rooms 3 and 5 (the rest of it having been removed), in the course of which it falls about 3 inches to the northward.

* The dimensions of the several rooms numbered on the plan are as follows: Room No. 1, 18 feet by 13 feet; Room No. 2, 11½ feet by 3¾ feet; Room No. 3, 5½ feet by 3¾ feet; Room No. 4, 11 feet by 9¼ feet; Room No. 5, 6 feet by 9¼ feet; Room No. 6, 19 feet by 18 feet; Room No. 7, 19¼ feet by 12 feet.

^b A fragment, which was possibly a portion of a lamp for many wicks, or a flower-holder, of grey clay, was found here.

To the east of House No. VI N is an open space.^a Close to the house was found a well, remarkable for the fine state of preservation of its original top stones, the flat sandstone slabs, somewhat worn by traffic and by water, being well preserved, though they are only 9 inches below the present grass level. The well has so far only been excavated to the depth of 18 feet, as the water, which came in slowly at 10 feet down, rushed in at 18 feet through an aperture 4 inches square, and proved an obstacle to further progress.

Further north-east is a building which we have called Block H N, of which but little is preserved, its northern portion having been destroyed when the amphitheatre was constructed. The only room of which the dimensions can be determined measures $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 42 feet, and north-east of it again is Block I N,^b which is in a similar condition. Room 2 contains some remains of a pavement of slabs of old red sandstone.

House No. VII N.—On the south side of the road running east and west, which is here $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, is a small portion of another building, which we have called House No. VII N,^c the greater part of which lies outside Lord Tredegar's property. The only room which calls for notice is Room 2, which is paved with slabs of sandstone about 2 feet square and 4 inches to 7 inches thick. Near the north-east corner of the room there lies upon them a similar block, 2 feet 1 inch square, but no less than 11 inches thick. A sandy bottom was reached 2 feet 6 inches below them, and some pottery and red wall plaster were found between it and the slabs.

The north and south road has been built over by an extension westwards of this house, no doubt at the time of the construction of the amphitheatre; this we have called Room 1.

The pitching of the road is still visible on the south side of the blocking wall, which has used the road itself for a foundation, as the removal of a portion of it clearly showed. The original width of the road is perhaps determined by the west wall of Room 2,^d and on the west by a wall just outside the west wall of Room 1. This wall is shown in outline, as it apparently belongs to an earlier

^a Among the small objects found here was a small mortar of Purbeck marble $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with sides $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in thickness.

^b The dimensions of the several spaces numbered on the plan are as follows: No. 2, 17 feet by $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet; No. 3, 12 feet by 16 feet; No. 4, 14 feet wide.

^c The widths of the spaces as numbered on the plan are as follows: No. 1, 12 feet; No. 2, 12 feet; No. 3, $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet.

^d In that case the wall between it and Room 1 must also be built on the road surface, which as a fact appears to the east of it.

period. To the west of this wall again there seems to have been the gravelled yard already referred to.

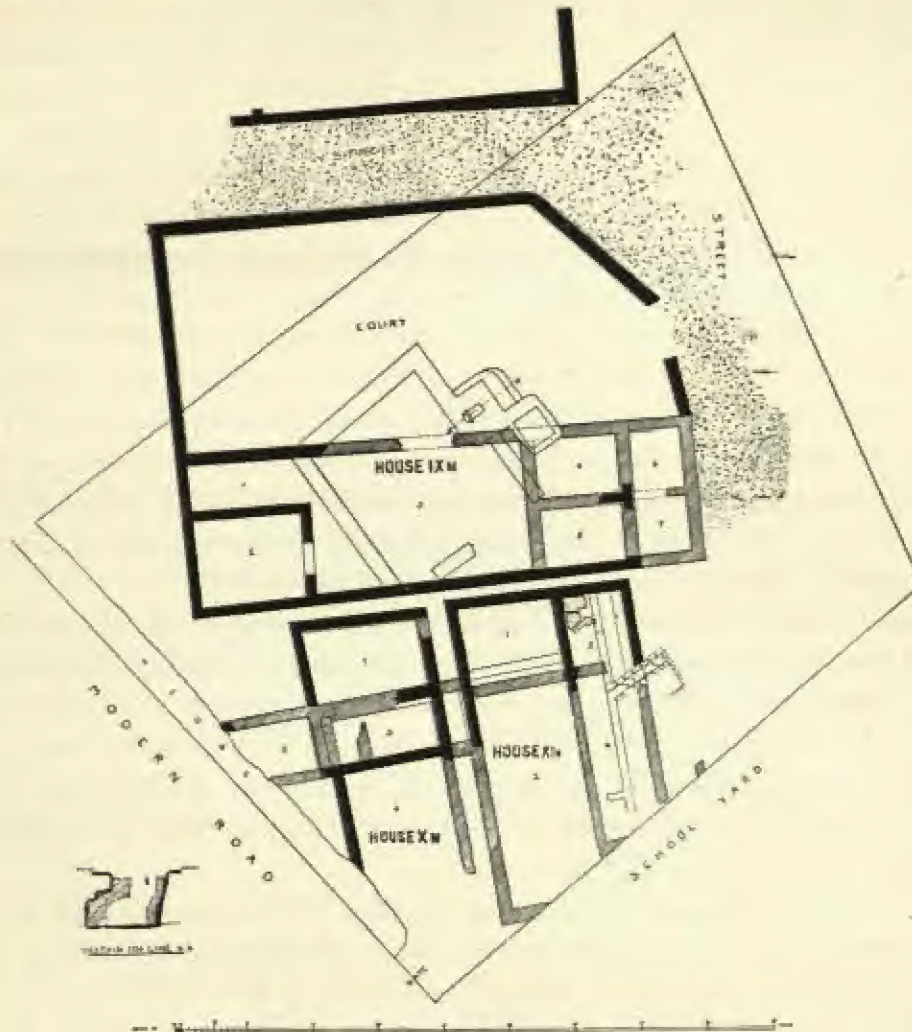


Fig. 11. Plan of Houses IX N, X N, and XI N, in the School Playground.

III. THE BUILDINGS IN THE SCHOOL PLAYGROUND (fig. 11).

Immediately to the south of the east and west street, which has been traced further east and forms the northern boundary,* and on the western edge of the

* It is here only 13 feet 6 inches in width. On the north of it is a wall perhaps belonging to House No. II N.

street running south from the north gate, is a small house (No. IX N) with a large yard on the north of it, the north-east angle^a of which is cut off, no doubt in order to give more space at the cross-roads. The entrance was on the east side, where there is a gateway 8 feet 6 inches in width,^b on the south side of which was found a stone 1 foot 1 inch by 1 foot $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with a hole for the gate pivot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 2 inches deep, lined with iron $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. In the centre were stones placed on edge for the gate to shut against. Near here were also found some very small *lesseræ* from a mosaic pavement.

The room at the north-east end (No. 1)^c had a gravel concrete floor about 2 inches thick in good preservation; also wall plaster preserved to a height of 1 foot 6 inches, with a quarter round moulding between wall and floor. Another concrete floor was found 8 inches below the top of the upper one. Between the two floors was found a layer of red and white wall plaster, and a nearly perfect black pot was also found. Room 2 had also plastered walls and gravel concrete floor. In Room 3 was found a perfect pair of millstones and an interesting pair of surgeon's forceps, which may have been intended for the extraction of a polypus from the nostril. Rooms 4 to 7 call for no particular remark.

The middle part of this house has been much destroyed by the erection upon its site of a medieval house with a different orientation, which contains a curious latrine. A shaft of solid masonry communicates through a vertical opening 2 feet 8 inches deep and 2 feet 3 inches wide by 1 foot 5 inches broad, with a slab sloping sharply down at the bottom of it, with an underground chamber 4 feet by 5 feet 7 inches, roofed in beehive fashion, so that its height varies from 4 feet 1 inch to 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

To the south of House No. IX N are remains which may probably be divided into two smaller houses, the southern termination of which it will not be possible to excavate, as the village school and the road block further progress.^d

That on the west, No. X N, has four rooms,^e including one thrown out to the west. Rooms 1 and 3 have gravel concrete floors and plastered walls, and in them were found many fragments of roofing tiles of clay and stone, and in the

^a Near this angle a large grey pot, 1 foot in diameter, was found at a depth of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

^b This was apparently a standard width.

^c The dimensions of the several rooms of House No. IX N are as follows: Courtyard, 75 feet by $33\frac{1}{4}$ feet; Room 1, $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 7 feet; Room 2, 16 feet by 13 feet; Room 3, $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 20 feet; Room 4, $12\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet; Room 5 $12\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $8\frac{3}{4}$ feet; Room 6, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 9 feet; Room 7, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

^d No. 1, $17\frac{1}{4}$ feet by $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet; No. 2, 8 feet wide; No. 3, 17 feet by $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet; No. 4, 15 feet wide.

Excavations at Church, Algide Buren

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bounded by a modern cottage and its approach. The third side is bounded by the modern road which here diverges from the line of the old Roman road, and passing in a north-westerly direction through the village, leaves it by a gap in the north wall, where it is possible there may have been an ancient gate, and leads to the village of Llanvair.

The parish council kindly gave permission to explore this plot, and the whole of it has been thoroughly examined (Plate XI.). At the north-west corner was found what was apparently the eastern wall of a house. Two walls running westward from the southern end of this were followed for 8 feet, when the limit of our ground was reached. The width enclosed between these two walls is only 2 feet 6 inches, and it seems therefore too narrow for a corridor. No floor was found here, but in the space to the north of this passage there were traces of a concrete floor. To the south of this, after an interval of 10 feet, another wall was found running in the same direction as the first wall. A return westwards from the northern extremity was traced for about 2 feet. This was probably part of a separate house, for its wall is set back further than the first wall described above. At its southern extremity it is crossed by a wall running diagonally towards the Llanvair road. The line of the street described above as running from the north wall between Houses Nos. II N and III N passes under this diagonal wall, and the houses which have just been mentioned would have fronted upon this street. This diagonal wall, however, probably belongs to a later date, for it is pierced 10 feet from its north-eastern extremity by an opening 9 inches wide leading into a stone drain, which was followed for some 10 feet in the direction of Block J N. This opening was 1 foot 6 inches above the flags which showed the level in earlier times, and must therefore indicate a later date.

To the south of this diagonal wall was found, at a depth of a little over 5 feet, a yard paved with an irregular pitching of flat stones, and on the eastern side of this yard was found a rectangular platform 13 feet square (fig. 12). This platform was composed on three sides of walls of massive masonry enclosing a core of stones set on edge in mortar, which closely resembled the core of the city wall. The stones forming the enclosing walls were rectangular blocks of sandstone measuring about 2 feet by 1 foot by 1 foot. The two lower courses were of regular and careful work. The third and upper course, with part of a fourth course, was less regular, and consisted partly of stones which had been previously used for some other purpose, and there is very little doubt that the upper part of this platform had been reconstructed at some later date. On its eastern side there were lying some large stones some 8 inches thick, which averaged in size about 2 feet by

1 foot. One large stone, however, which was clearly not in its original position was more than twice this size. On the north side, where the wall was wanting, at a distance of nearly 3 feet, was an inclined plane sloping downward from east to west from the top of the platform to the level of the yard. This was 6 feet in width, and was composed of two rows of stones measuring roughly 2 feet 9 inches to 3 feet square, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. The two stones to the east were level and corresponded with what may have been the original level of the platform.



Fig. 12. Rectangular platform found on the Village Green.

The two next pairs of stones sloped downwards to the west and were followed by three stones which were probably not exactly in their original place. Here at a level of 1 foot 6 inches above the pavement the stones ceased, and if this ramp was ever continued, as seems probable, down to the level of the paving it must have turned sharp round to the south. This is rendered more probable by the fact that the northern limit of the paving was just to the south of the ramp. Between the platform and the ramp there was only hard earth; one big stone shown in the plan (Plate XI.) as lying between them had evidently fallen or been

brought from some other place, as was also the case with another large stone to the south of the platform. On the pavement of the yard were lying a large capital (fig. 13), part of a base (fig. 14), and other stones which seem to have belonged to some important building.

The southern limit to the yard, which corresponded exactly with the line of



Fig. 13. Section of capital found on the Village Green. (1)



Fig. 14. Section of base found on the Village Green. (1)

the modern high road, was marked by a series of large stones set up on edge. The actual Roman road lay 5 feet 6 inches to the south of this, and was bounded on the north, in the one place where we were able to examine it, by a stone curb. The surface of this road was 2 feet 3 inches above the level of the yard. Owing to the traffic on the modern road a more prolonged examination of the Roman road was impossible. The extension southwards of the eastern edge of the

platform marked the eastern limit of the paving. It therefore seems certain that the paved yard and the platform were mutually related. Eastward of the platform the ground forming the apex of the triangle contained nothing but débris of building materials. The stump of a wooden post in the ground to the east of the platform may either have been part of an old sign-post or else of a gallows; and human bones found in this spot, as well as a skeleton found on the top of the platform, may mark the interment of criminals or of suicides of a comparatively modern date.

At the back of the platform, which may possibly have been the podium of a small temple, an inscribed stone (Plate XII.) was found standing in a vertical position. This stone was let in to a recess in the east wall of the platform. It was resting on another large stone which certainly originally formed its base, on which it had apparently been placed with some care, but curiously enough the base was inverted. Neither base nor stone was in its original position, as is proved by the fact that all but the top line of the inscription was covered by the platform.

The base consists of a plinth, which is 2 feet 8 inches wide in front by 2 feet 7 inches at the side. It is 10 inches high, and above it on three sides only there are two fillets, 1 inch wide, separated by a shallow ogee moulding, 5 inches in width (fig. 15). There is no moulding on the back.

The inscribed stone, which rested on the top of this base, was probably the pedestal on which stood the statue of the official in whose honour it was erected. Its original height, as may be inferred from its height at the back, must have been as nearly as possible 4 feet, but the top has been somewhat shattered and the height in front is now only 3 feet 4 inches. It is 1 foot 10½ inches wide in front by 1 foot 9 inches deep. Three of the sides are panelled, and the fact that the back is plain makes it clear that both base and pedestal must have stood against the wall of some building. The panel on the face of the stone, which contains the inscription, is 1 foot 6½ inches wide.

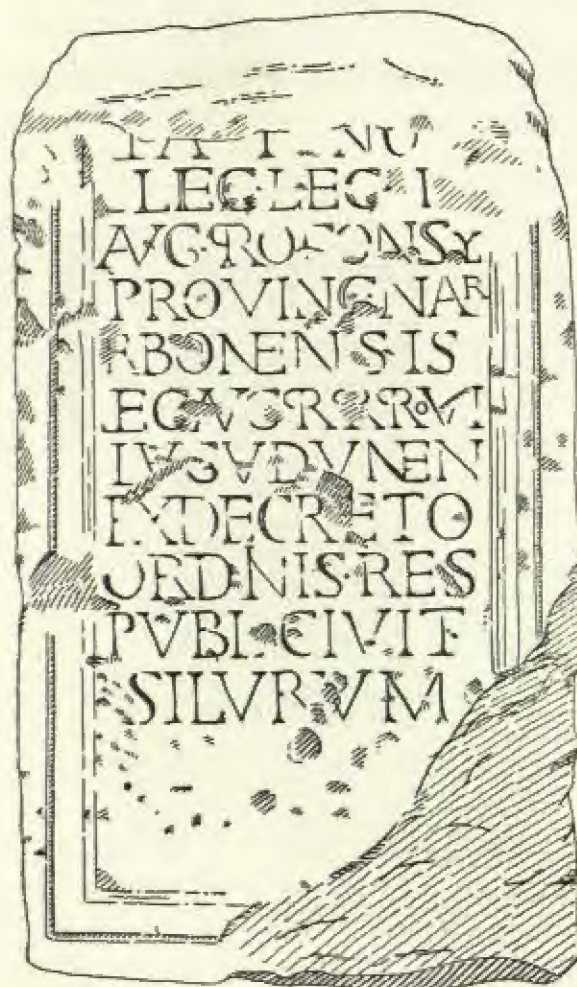
The inscription itself certainly consisted of twelve lines, of which one has



Fig. 15. Sections of base and panel-moulding of inscribed stone found on the Village Green. (4)

entirely perished. Of the second line the lower parts of the letters are alone visible. The remaining ten are all well cut and legible. In the last line the letters are $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, while in the others they are only 2 inches high. Ligatures are somewhat freely used. These may be seen in the illustration (fig. 16) from the block drawn under Mr. Haverfield's direction by Mr. S. R. E. Phillips for the *Athenæum* which has been kindly lent us.

The text of the inscription is as follows :



1. Entirely wanting.
2. * * *
3. LEG(ato) LEG(ionis) I[I]
4. AVG(ustae) PROCONSVL(i)
5. PROVINC(iae) NAR
6. BONENSIS.
7. LEG(ato) AVG(usti) PR(o) PR(aetore)
PROVI(nciae).
8. LVGV DVNEN(sis)
9. EX DECRETO
10. ORDINIS RES
11. PVBL(ica) CIVIT(atis)
12. SILVRVM.

Fig. 16. Inscription found on the Village Green.

In line 5 the R is smaller than the other letters and in line 6 there are traces of a full-sized R before the B. In the second line the lower parts of five letters are visible, and there are traces of two others. The first, of which only the



CAERWENT. SCULPTURED STONE FOUND ON THE VILLAGE GREEN.

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vertical stroke is clear, may be P. The second is almost certainly A. The next letter has almost entirely gone, but there are indications of a V. The fourth, of which the vertical stroke alone is clear, is possibly L. The fifth seems to be I (the vertical stroke is certain), and the sixth is N. Of the next letter there are only faint indications of a curve that may be part of an O. On the whole PAVLINO may be conjectured, with some reserve.

The meaning of the inscription is, however, clear. The monument on which it is cut was set up by the community of the Civitas Silurum in accordance with a decree of its governing body (*ordo*) to an official who, after being commanding officer of the second legion, was subsequently governor of the province of Gallia Narbonensis and then of Gallia Lugudunensis.

The loss of the name and any indication of date is much to be regretted, but Mr. Haverfield is of opinion that the inscription may belong to the second or third century, and if PAVLINO be the correct reading of the second line, the official in question may possibly be, as he suggests, the Tiberius Claudius Paulinus whose name, as Imperial legate of Britain, occurs on an inscription of the time of Elagabalus which was found at Rochester.^a This Paulinus was also at one time governor of Gallia Lugudunensis.^b

Mr. Haverfield points out that the organisation in Britain probably resembled that in Northern Gaul, of which he writes as follows:

"The unit of Roman as of Greek life was, in respect of space, the town. Italy, as Virgil observed, was a land of towns. In organizing their central and western provinces the Romans generally introduced the Italian municipal system, planting *coloniæ* or creating *municipia* on the Italian model, with charters, magistrates, senate, and people. These municipalities had little territories attached to them, and formed the units of local government. But in Gaul a different system prevailed. There (except in the Rhône Valley) the native cantons retained under Roman rule their cantonal government. At first they continued to use their old titles for the cantonal magistrates and chiefs; soon they substituted the nomenclature of the Italian municipal system. Their magistrates, who are still the officials of the tribe, and not of the town, are called by such municipal names as *duumvirs* or *ædiles*, and their 'county councils' are styled *senatus* or *ordo*.

Our new inscription shows that the same system obtained in Britain. The canton of the Silures is just like any Gaulish *civitas*. It has a council of rulers or magistrates (*ordo*), and through the agency of this body it is able to erect in its

^a *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii. 1045.

^b See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, i. 758.

chief town—*Venta Silurum*—a monument to a Roman officer who had at some time, perhaps, befriended it. Who exactly constituted the *ordo* or how they were appointed, we do not know. But it is plain that the *ordo* of the Silures was the chief local authority in the district occupied by the canton.

We possessed indications previous to the discovery of this monument that the cantonal system was used in Roman Britain. We had references to a '*civis Cantius*,' a '*civitas Catuvellaunorum*,' and the like. But the new inscription has added largely to the certainty and to the definiteness of our knowledge. It is a discovery of real importance for the history of Roman Britain."^a

The Parish Council having expressed a wish that the platform where this stone was found should be preserved, Lord Tredegar very kindly offered to fence in the excavation with a stone curb and ornamental iron railing, and to put up a suitable inscription. But this offer was declined on various grounds, the most valid of which was that a hole or pit of this size in the middle of the green would tend to become a receptacle for rubbish. The stones were therefore carefully numbered and removed, and, after the excavation had been filled in, were re-erected with the same orientation and position as regards plan on the level of the green as it is to-day.

V. EXCAVATIONS IN THE CHURCH PATH.

By kind permission of the vicar and churchwardens, excavations were also made in the path leading from the high road to the Lychgate of Caerwent church,

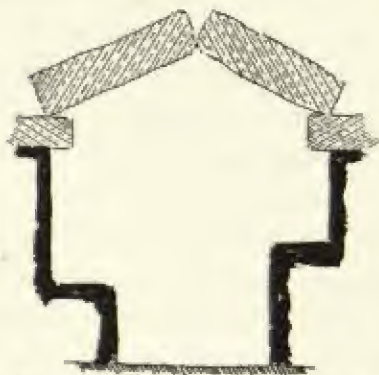


Fig. 17. Section of drain found in the Church Path. ($\frac{1}{4}$ in)

with the object of finding the southern limit of the Roman main road. This was effected by the discovery of a drain which must have run along its southern side. The drain itself was much ruined, but its section seems to have been as shown in fig. 17. The roofing slabs of sandstone were only slightly inclined towards one another, and were supported by upright slabs on each side. Just to the north of it was the solid road bed about 1 foot 6 inches thick, at about 3 feet below ground. The bottom of the drain was the natural earth.^b The drain was full of fine stuff, waterwashed; in it were

^a *Athenæum*, 26th September, 1903. Vol. for July—December, 1903, 420.

^b There may have been another road level 9 inches thick, only 1 foot 7 inches down, but the soil is very hard and gravelly here, and the real level difficult to determine.

found some good pottery, plaster, gravel concrete flooring, bones, etc. and tiles. The top of the drain, under the cover-stones, was 3 feet 9 inches below ground level; the bottom 6 feet below ground.

Just to the west there were apparently two steps down from the road level, whether over the drain or not is uncertain, as the drain itself could not be traced clearly, and, if it had ever existed, had apparently fallen in. The upper was a slab 2 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 5 inches by 1 foot thick, the upper surface of which lay 1 foot 3 inches below ground level. It was bedded on old red sandstone slabs, about 2 inches thick, which were mortared in. The lower, which was only overlapped about 5 inches by the upper, lay 2 feet 5 inches below ground, and measured 2 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 11 inches by 1 foot thick. In it was a hole 4 inches square and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. This stone rested on a house wall, and its north face was flush with it; and into this house the step must have led.

Not much of the house could be opened owing to the difficulty of keeping the trenches open for any length of time. At one point there was part of a floor of tiles 10 inches square, lying 1 foot 6 inches below the surface of the ground. Under these were slabs of old red sandstone, below which was black soft stuff, from which came a worn minimus of Tetricus I.; it possibly was a hypocaust, but no remains of its *pilæ* could be found.

To the west of the walls there was possibly another foundation 2 feet 9 inches in width.

The Roman road was again found in August, 1904, about 50 yards to the east, in digging a hole for a new telegraph post on the south side of the modern road. Its bed was reached at a depth of 17 inches, and was 2 feet 5 inches thick, and composed of a layer of about 6 inches in thickness of flinty gravel; above this was a layer of loose yellow material, and the third and highest layer was formed of hard gravel mixed with sandy material and lime. This corresponds with the formation found further to the west on the north side of House No. VII.^a

VI. NOTE ON THE REMAINS OF PLANTS FOUND AT CAERWENT.

Some of the earth which was taken from the well in House VIII^N at a depth of 27 feet was sent to Mr. Clement Reid, F.R.S., who very kindly examined and reported on the seeds which he found.

It is proposed to defer the publication of a full list of the plants which were

^a See *Archæologia*, lvi. 146.

identified so that the results of the examination of the earth from the wells which have since been discovered can be incorporated with it.

Meanwhile Mr. Clement Reid reports that the flora is unexpectedly like that of Silchester, and adds "that it certainly looks now as if we are getting a perfectly definite Roman flora of Britain, which occurs at each site—whether Silchester, London, Walthamstow, or Caerwent."

The annexed plan (fig. 18) shows the progress of the excavations down to November, 1903.

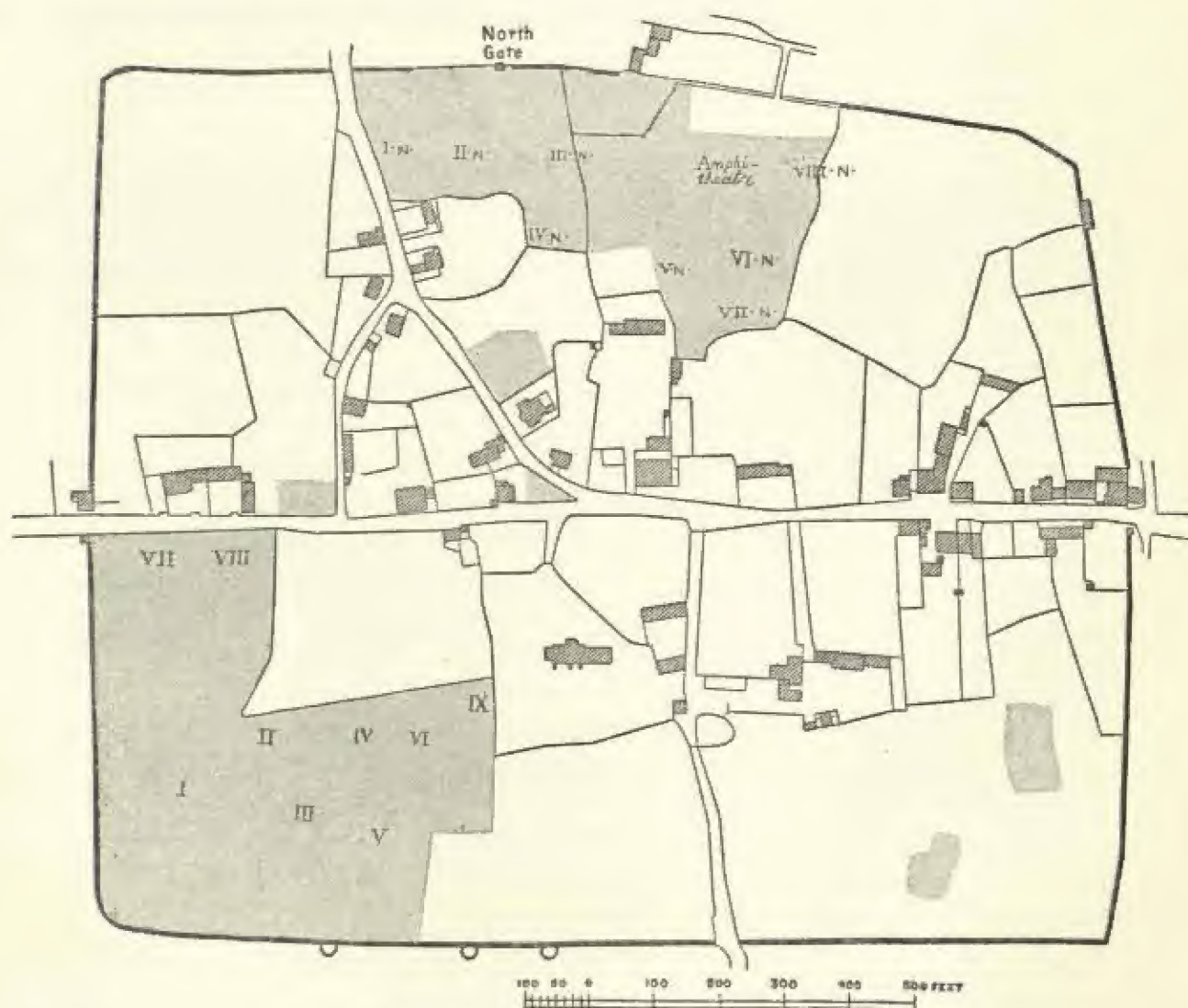
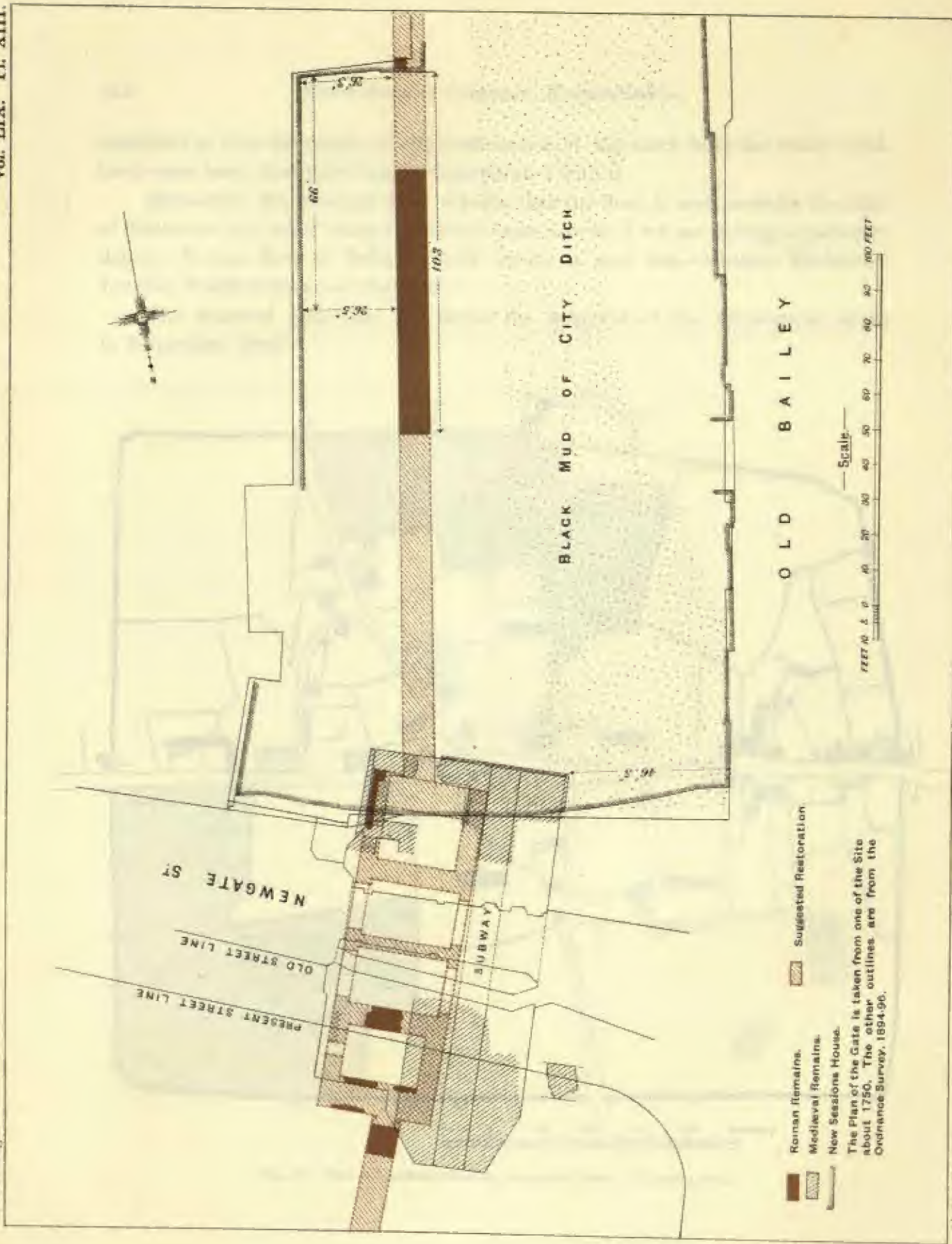


Fig. 18. Plan of Caerwent, showing discoveries down to November, 1903.





ROMAN REMAINS FOUND ON THE SITE OF NEWGATE PRISON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904

VIII.—*Roman and later Remains found during the Excavations on the Site of Newgate Prison, 1903-1904.* By PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., Treasurer.

Read 26th November, 1903.

IN the early autumn of the year 1903 it became known that during the demolition of Newgate Prison, and while the soil was being excavated for fresh foundations, important remains of the Roman wall of London had gradually come to light.

On the 7th of October, when I first visited the scene, a piece about 20 feet long was visible, the soil to the south of it being completely dug out at the end and on each side to a depth of some feet below the level of the foundations. The beautiful yellow sand and gravel beneath were exposed to sight, and there was a fine opportunity of studying the structure, which, being more or less isolated and standing up to a considerable height, formed a picturesque object. (See Plate XV.) What made this view of the wall exceptionally interesting was that here one could see not only a transverse section, but the inner and the outer face of the wall, the former in excellent condition.

The wall ran north and south, the south end of it being as nearly as possible 185 feet south of the line of Newgate Street, that is from the outer face of the north wall of Dance's Prison. It was about 26 feet from his eastern wall and 87 feet from the Old Bailey, almost immediately opposite the spot where public executions took place within the memory of most of us. The foundation of the

wall at this end, that is to the depth where a stratum of puddled clay rested on the gravel, was about 16 feet below the Newgate Street level.

I should add that, besides this important piece of wall, a fragment remained 30 feet to the south in the boundary wall of the prison. Its position is marked in our plan, and we are told that it will be preserved in the new building. The intervening part was probably destroyed before the construction of Dance's prison.

Very soon the work of demolishing the main portion of the wall began at its southern extremity, and from that time for many weeks successive sections of it became visible, the work of destruction not being completed until January, 1904. According to the usual method of building the London wall, a trench about 12 feet wide had been dug in the natural soil, the lower part of which, for a depth of 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet, was filled with puddled clay mixed with fragments of Kentish ragstone. Here and there a flint had intruded itself into the clay, but they were few in number. We also noticed a piece of Roman brick 3 inches thick, and at a small portion of the north end it was afterwards seen that flint had been substituted for the ragstone. Resting on this were rough layers of ragstone and mortar or concrete faced by larger stones, irregularly laid herring-bone fashion, and projecting sometimes as much as $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot beyond the wall above, the foundation of masonry varying in thickness from $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the south to 2 feet 10 inches at the north end.

On this firm base, topped by a layer of mortar, the wall was built from the Roman ground level. (See section, Plate XIV. fig. 2.) It began on the inner side with a treble course of thin Roman tiles of the usual kind. The measurement of a whole one, now in my possession, is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches by nearly 12 inches, its thickness being less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The layer of tiles with the mortar between them was about 7 inches high, and projected 2 inches beyond the face of the wall; they were placed alternately lengthwise and breadthwise. This treble course did not extend through the wall, but only appeared along its inner face. At a corresponding level outside, the place of the tiles was taken by a row of ferruginous sandstone or ironstone blocks $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, representing a plinth. A few detached stones of the same material were also to be found on the outer face of the wall, the rest being Kentish rag. At this lowest point, that is on the Roman ground level, the wall was $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth.

Above the row of large stones on the outer or west side and the treble course of tiles within, were five courses of roughly squared facing stones which with the mortar between them measured 2 feet 6 inches in height. Then came two layers

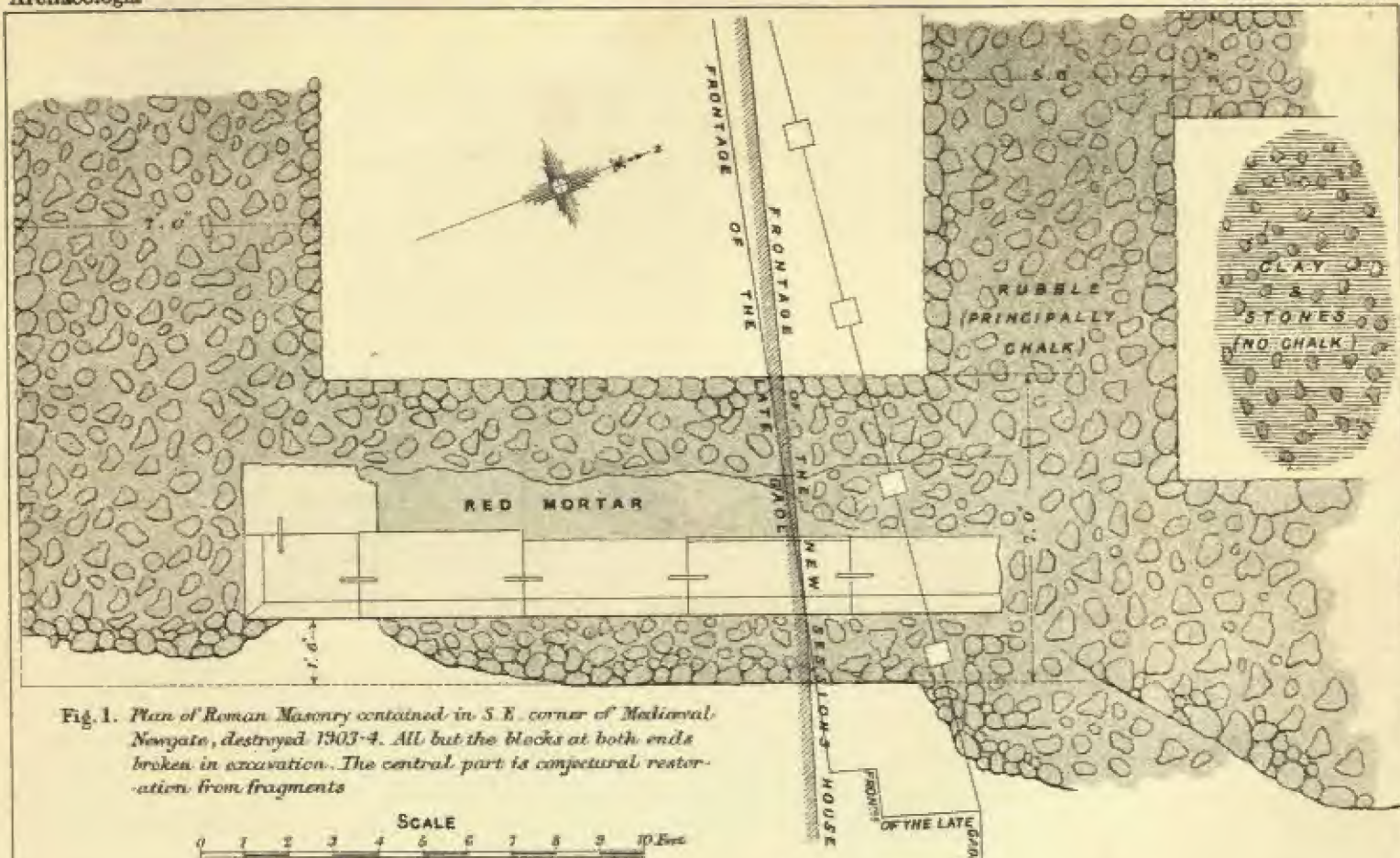


Fig. 1. Plan of Roman Masonry contained in S.E. corner of Medieval Newgate, destroyed 1903-4. All but the blocks at both ends broken in excavation. The central part is conjectural restoration from fragments

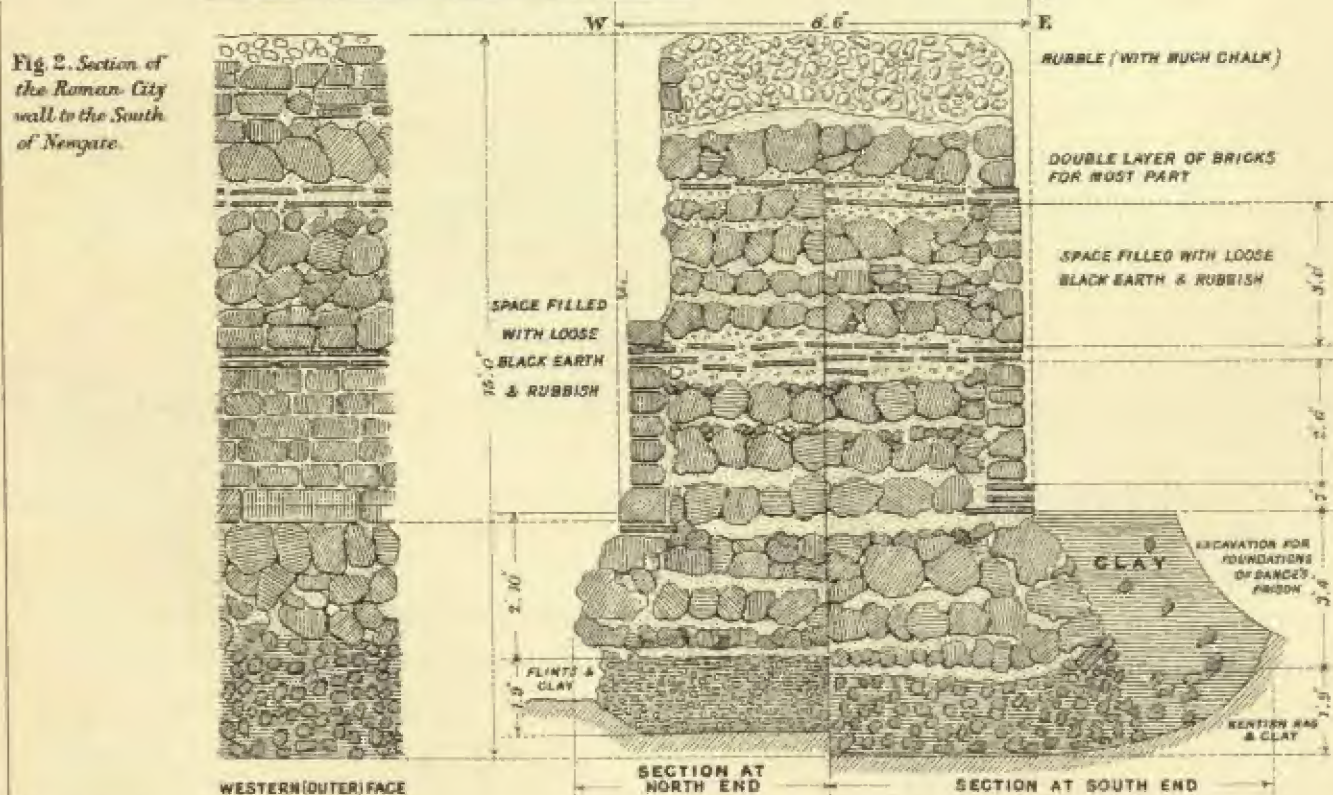


Fig. 2. Section of the Roman City wall to the South of Newgate.

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ROMAN REMAINS FOUND ON THE SITE OF NEWGATE PRISON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904



ROMAN REMAINS FOUND ON THE SITE OF NEWGATE PRISON.



From a photograph by the Art Reproduction Co., Ltd.

ROMAN WALL BY NEWGATE.—VIEW FROM SOUTH-WEST.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.

of bonding tiles^a of the same kind as those below, bedded in mortar and extending completely through the wall. Their height with the mortar was about 6 inches between the facing stones, but in the core of the wall sometimes much more, the tiles being here and there irregularly laid. On these were placed five courses of similar facing stones, which with somewhat thicker joints than those below made up a height of about 3 feet. Above this came the top piece of wall, which was set back 2 inches on the inner side. This portion generally for a couple of courses resembled in character that below; then a piece of different and inferior construction had been added, the mortar of which was far more friable than the rest. This upper portion of wall was set back considerably on the outside, behind the position of the old facing stones. In places it rested on tiles or bricks which had no regular arrangement. It may be noted that the mortar elsewhere along the wall, though it varied slightly in colour, was almost all inclined to grey and excessively hard, with a good deal of coarse sand in it, but, except at one spot to be presently described, none of the pounded brick or tile which so often gives a pink appearance to Roman mortar.

Throughout the wall, at least to the apparently later superstructure, the space between the outer casing was occupied by irregular courses of ragstone large and small, which were packed with considerable care. Upon these courses mortar had been poured, filling up the interstices to a considerable extent, but leaving many vacant spaces. That it had been often at least liquid or semi-liquid was shown by the coagulated drops.^b

The whole height of the undeniably Roman portion of the wall from the Roman ground level was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Above that the masonry supposed to be later rose to a height of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot more or less, and the top of it was about 1 foot below the level of Newgate Street. The inner face of the wall (Plate XVI.) was in very perfect condition, but the stones had been less carefully shaped and laid than those on the outer face, which, however, as one would expect from its position, was in places very much weather worn, and had lost its facing stones above the first double course of tiles. It is not improbable, as Mr. W. H. St. John Hope suggests, that the City side of the wall had been protected originally by a bank formed of the material thrown up in making the ditch; if so this must have

^a Almost all the tiles were of a fine red colour, a few of them being burnt almost a blue-black in the middle. Here and there a yellowish one was observed.

^b In *The Builder* for October 20th, 1900, an analysis is given of two samples of mortar taken from the interior of the Roman wall found at the back of the Old Bailey. In all probability this mortar was precisely similar to that used at Newgate.

been levelled down, and have gradually disappeared as the ground surface rose within the City.

Not long after the first uncovering of it, the piece of wall visible on October 7th was altogether demolished, but there still remained a portion of quite equal length running northward, and at first concealed by earth and by prison foundations, which was destroyed almost as soon as it was laid bare.

It was in this portion that the row of ferruginous sandstone blocks, which

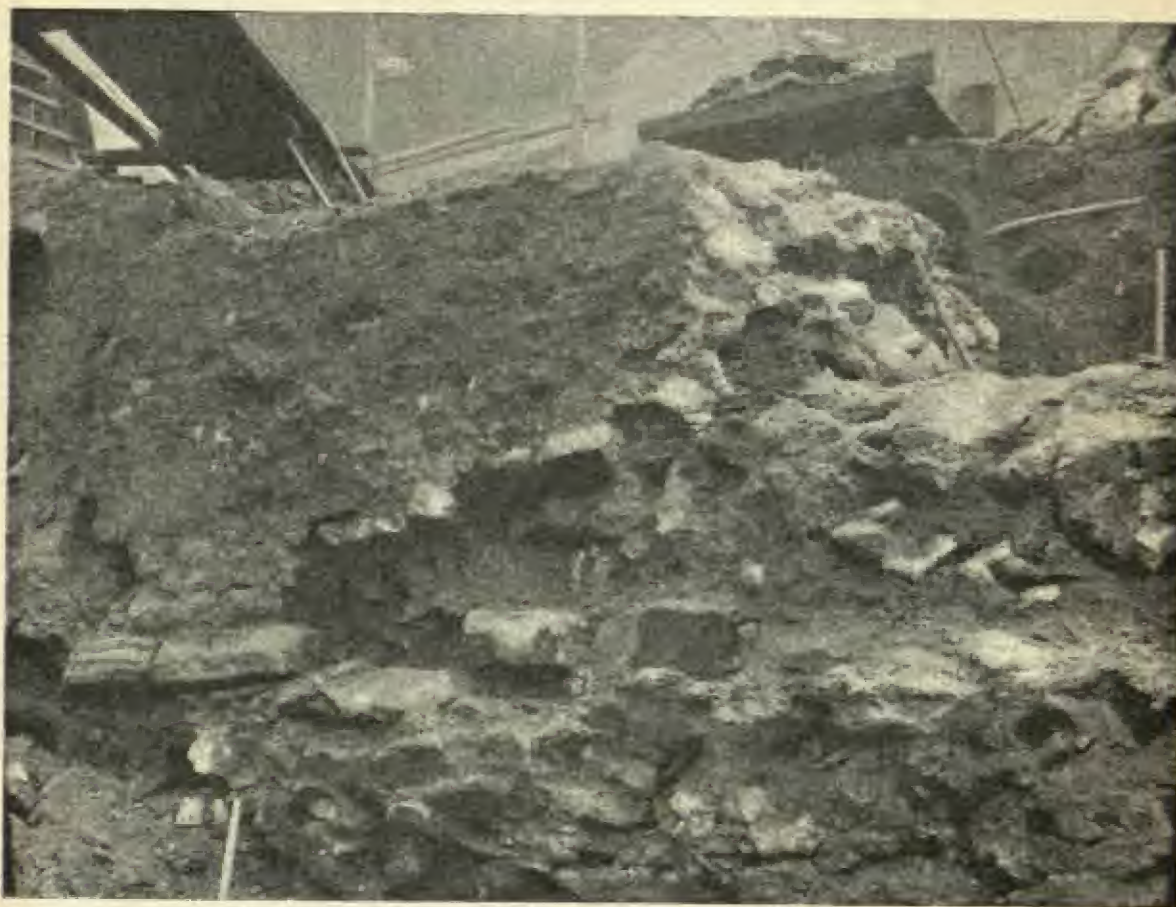


Fig. 1. Roman wall by Newgate. View from west, showing remains of plinth.

elsewhere formed the lowest course of the wall on the outer or western side, were replaced for a short distance near the north end by a true plinth of the same material and the same height, namely $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, part of which was photographed on December 4th and forms the subject of fig 1. It consisted of five or six stones of length varying between 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 2 feet 6 inches; their



ROMAN WALL BY NEWGATE.—INNER OR EASTERN FACE.

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breadth was $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They were chamfered on the upper edge, projecting slightly beyond the face of the wall. In one or two instances a Roman tile had been placed under the face of this plinth, apparently in order to make an even course. Along the top and over the joint between the plinth and the stones above, the mortar was of the pink kind, showing it to be unmistakably Roman. There was also a lump of pink mortar behind the plinth; it was detached, and thus may have slipped down from the top.

Beginning some three courses above the chamfered plinth, there had at some time been a tremendous breach in the wall, which had been strongly repaired, the repaired portion sloping backwards as shown in various photographs.

Another interesting discovery was that of fifteen or twenty large stones, looking as fresh as if they had just been brought from the quarry, which were built into the foundations of Dance's prison. Particulars of one were taken, and we found it to be 6 feet long, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches high, being semicircular in section. The ends were slightly hollowed and left rough; the material was an oolite. An apparently similar stone is figured in *The Builder* for September 4th, 1852 (vol. x.), the illustration showing Roman objects which formed part of the filling in of a buttress, or more probably a bastion, built against the City Wall near Tower Hill. Mr. J. E. Price borrowed the block for his paper, published in 1880, on "Excavations in Camomile Street," but no measurement is given in either case. One cannot say with certainty what purpose these stones were intended to serve; our Fellow Mr. G. E. Fox thinks that they are too long for coping stones of the doubtless battlemented Roman wall.

I will conclude this section of the subject by saying that the important piece of wall, apparently not less than 68 feet long, which was found at Newgate, and has given an opportunity for such detailed examination, was constructed on the same principle as other portions of the Roman City wall, examined from time to time and described in several publications. Some slight variations of these different portions will be referred to in the Appendix. The resemblance, however, as Mr. Fox once before pointed out, is strong enough to prove that, with one well-known exception, namely, the extension of the wall in the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Blackfriars precinct was added to the City, the whole of its lower part must not only have been built during the Roman occupation (a fact which has often been denied), but that its construction must have taken place in the course of a very few years, if not altogether at one time.*

* These remarks apply only to the structure of the wall itself. The towers, bastions, and gates need further consideration. Fitzstephen, who wrote in the reign of Henry II., speaks of a wall as

When that was is still to the writer's mind an open question, in spite of assertions to the contrary, which have been supported by rather plausible argument.

I will now bring to your notice a discovery which, from the point of view of the student of Roman London, is even more important than that of the wall, for it



Fig. 2. Plinth of Roman gate at Newgate, from east.

is believed to be unique of its kind. Fifty-seven feet east of the western face of the substructure of the later City gate (remains of which were also uncovered),

having existed along the river front, which had disappeared long before. Of this wall remains seem to have been found in modern times by Mr. C. Roach Smith and others. Their accounts make it appear to have differed very much from the rest. The primitive site of London is not referred to in this paper.

completely involved in the foundation of its eastern wall, here about 7 feet wide, and a little over 13 feet south of the northern front of Dance's prison facing Newgate Street,^a there was found in the course of the demolition the end of a massive plinth composed of yellowish oolite closely resembling Barnack ragstone, which had formed part of the south-west corner of a Roman building.^b (Plate XIV. fig. 1.) Its base was 6 feet 6 inches below the pavement of Newgate Street, and to mark the spot as accurately as possible I would say that, according to two separate measurements, it was about 37 feet west of the eastern boundary of Newgate prison. This plinth had a broad chamfer on the south end and east face, its height was about 13 inches, and it was clamped to a stone of similar size, but not dressed, which lay immediately to the west of it. The plinth ran northward. The other stones composing it, which came to light, appear to have been four in number, but three of them were broken up as the work proceeded. The last, 3 feet 5 inches long, and extending partly under Newgate Street, was not completely uncovered till November, 1904. All the separate stones of the plinth were fastened together with iron clamps fixed in with lead. (See Plate XIV. fig. 1.) Attached to the whole plinth underneath, and at the back, was pink mortar as hard as the stone itself.

Under the plinth was a layer, 1 foot 10 inches thick, of mortar and ragstone, and under this a basis of puddled clay with ragstone fragments, no less than 4 feet 10 inches thick, extending to a depth of 13 feet below the Newgate Street level, and resting on the virgin gravel. These footings as a whole were quite of the same character as those found under the Roman wall to the south, which have been already described, excepting that there was a much greater depth of puddled clay.

The Roman wall near the plinth had totally disappeared for a distance of something like 100 feet, the intervening space having been occupied by the prison buildings. Most of these were reconstructed in 1857-58, and here the foundations appear to have been carried down at that time to a considerable depth.

It has been said that the base of the plinth was 6 feet 6 inches below the

^a Another measurement made it 16 feet south of the line of street. The fact that the wall was here recessed accounts for the difference.

^b A fragment of the plinth now in my possession, with pink mortar adhering to it, was compared with those specimens at the Geological Museum which it most resembled. Its structure was identical with that of the Barnack rag, but it was rather yellower. This is a lower colite, known to have been used by the Romans.

Newgate Street level. The base of the lowest course of stones representing a plinth, that is to say, the ground level at the south end of the Roman wall first exposed to view, was about 11 feet below the same level, as may be gathered from what has been said on a previous page. Supposing that the Roman wall were continued in a straight line as far north as the plinth, it would strike a point 10 feet, or a few inches more, to the west of it, but it may have curved slightly. On examining a plan, now at the City Surveyor's office, of the latest Newgate (which besides being a prison was an entrance to the City), as it appeared about 1750, not many years before its demolition, one finds that the position of the south-east corner is about 5 feet south of the corner of our plinth. I would add that the line of gate to the north as there shown, and as it appears on our plan, still marks the parish boundary.

Let us now consider what inference may be drawn from the finding of this undoubtedly Roman plinth in the position indicated. Of late years it has been generally agreed that even in Roman times there was a gateway at or by Newgate. Here there is Roman work involved in the known later gateways. Have we a precedent for the form more or less which a Roman gateway on such a site would probably have taken? Not to mention other examples, it may, we think, be found in the west gateway of Silchester, described and figured in vol. lii. of *Archæologia*. This gateway, when perfect, consisted of "two parallel passages, each 12 feet long and 13 feet wide; the outer sides of the gate were formed of a pair of guard-houses, each 12 feet wide and 24 feet deep. On the inner or City side they ranged with the gate, but towards the field they projected like two flanking towers, for which purpose indeed they were probably used." It is suggested that the arrangement at Newgate was somewhat similar, in which case the plinth would have formed part of a guard-room at the south-east angle of the gate.

At least we have in the discovery of this plinth confirmation of a fact about which those best able to judge had long made up their minds, that Newgate was an important gateway leading out of the Roman City to the west. It may be added that this is the only portion of a Roman gateway as yet discovered in London, unless indeed we may accept as Roman (as I am prepared to do) a small portion of the remains found on the north side of Newgate Street, and described by Mr. E. P. L. Brock in vols. xxxi. and xxxii. of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (1875 and 1876), which in that case would have belonged to the same structure.

Other remains of the gateway came to light during the excavations, and will

now be briefly described. At a point some $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet west of the south-east corner of the plinth, and rather more to the south, the southern face of the substructure of the later gate was found, the well-laid ashlar being composed of ragstone, and thence the workmen uncovered it for a distance of over 38 feet to the south-west corner of the gate and for some distance northward in the direction of Newgate Street. On its western face, the lower part projected, forming a set-off 8 inches wide. The foundations of this later gateway generally contained a mixture of Kentish rag, large quantities of mortar, chalk, pieces of Roman tile with mortar adhering to them, detached bits of pink mortar and other debris, the chalk being most plentiful in the upper portions. Apparent on the southern face, 12 to 13 feet from the south-west corner in the ashlar work, was a blocked-up arch (Plate XVII.), and this, on being opened and cleared of rubbish, was found to form the entrance of an arched subway extending north as far as the termination of the property, and at least for a slight distance under the street beyond. Undoubtedly the subway thus laid bare formed a continuation of the underground passage discovered on the north side of Newgate Street and described and figured in his paper by Mr. Brock, who thought it to be Roman. The width was about 7 feet 11 inches, his measurement being 2 inches less, and much of his description would apply to either part. On the Newgate Street side, however, the arch, as successive sections of it were exposed to view, was clearly pointed, as is shown in Plate XVIII. The stone of which it was composed appears to have been, on the arch face and largely along the surface of the interior, a yellow oolite somewhat resembling that of the plinth. Other pieces were pronounced by experts to be coarse magnesian limestone, Purbeck stone, and rag. It may be remarked that the arch was a good deal beneath the present ground surface, its crown being at about the same level as the base of the gate plinth, and it went down to the natural soil, here nearly 17 feet below the street level.

A curious feature of the arched subway found at Newgate was a raised water channel 2 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide on its eastern side, the form of which is best shown in fig. 3. It was built of ragstone very carefully laid, and had certainly been added after the building of the arch. The space to the west of this channel was filled in with earth, and on the top of this plaster had been spread.

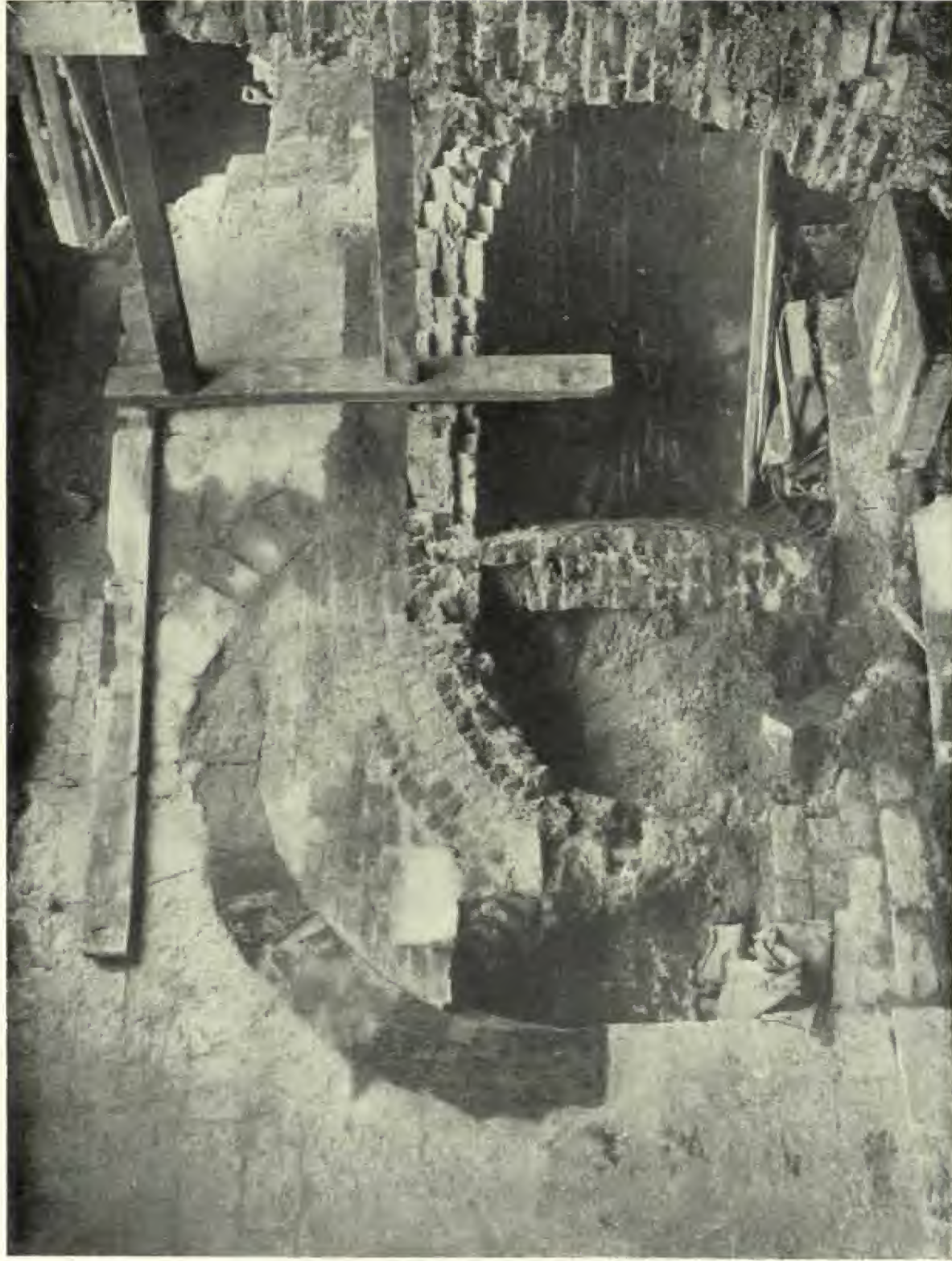
Six feet to the east of the arched subway, and at a depth below the street level of about 13 feet, one or two blocks of ferruginous sandstone were found running north, and resting on clay; they were on a much lower level than the

plinth at the south-east corner, but it seems not improbable that they had formed part of the Roman gate.



Fig. 3. View of subway under Newgate showing water channel.

Joining the arch obliquely from the south, as can be seen in Plate XVII., was a large culvert of brick, which ran from near the south end of the Roman



From a photograph by the Art Reproduction Co., Ltd.

NEWGATE.—SOUTH END OF SUBWAY, WITH JUNCTION OF CULVERT.

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wall first described. This was thought by the clerk of the works to have been for the purpose of draining water, not for sewage. It was certainly as old as Dance's prison, perhaps earlier, and had been destroyed in places when the ground was excavated for subsequent prison buildings. Mr. J. Terry found and examined a not dissimilar drain near the bastion in the disused burial ground of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.^a

Perhaps it is well to supplement our description by the following brief extracts from the printed accounts of Newgate. Stow, who in his *Survey of London* says that it was so called "as latelier built than the rest," believed it to have been made in the reign of Henry I. or Stephen, in consequence of the rebuilding and enlargement of St. Paul's Cathedral, which interfered with the highway from Aldgate through Cheap to Ludgate. As appears from the Pipe Roll of 34 Henry II.,^b it was already a prison in the year 1188, and continued to be used for that purpose, being by 1414 in such horrible condition that the gaolers and sixty-four prisoners died of fever or the plague. In 1422 Richard Whittington's executors, by his direction, obtained licence to rebuild it for the reasons that it was "feble, over litel, and so contagious of eyre yat hit caused the deth of many men."^c It seems early to have been called West Gate and Chamberlain's Gate. Repaired in 1555-56, and again in 1630-31, it is said by Strype (1720) and Maitland to have been destroyed in the Great Fire. On the other hand, Hatton, an earlier writer, in his *New View of London*, 1708, quotes an inscription on the east side to the effect that it was merely "damnified by the Fire in 1666," and *repaired* in the Mayoralty of Sir George Waterman, Ann. Dom. 1672; and he adds, "here are these arms, Sable, a Fess Chequy, Or and Azure, with an Anulet for a difference." An examination of the City Records has proved his accuracy, for we find that immediately after the Great Fire it was ordered by the Corporation that "the City workmen shall *repair* Newgate and make it sufficient to hold y^e prisoners." The arms mentioned by Hatton as existing after the Fire were those of Whittington, and they are displayed on the gate in the well-known view of it forming the frontispiece to the

^a *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, N.S. i. 356.

^b "Pro emenda terra juxta Niwegata ad faciendam Gaiolam . lxvi.s. & viii.d. per breve Regis. Et in Operatione ejusdem Gaiole . xxxvj.li. & xi.d. per idem breve per visum Galfridi carpentarii et Ricardi carpentarii et Radulfi fabri." (I am indebted for this extract to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.) Ludgate and the postern of Cripplegate were also at times used as prisons.

^c See *Poedera*, x. 287-88, and *Rot. Parl.* iv. 370.

book called *Herba Parietis, or the Wall Flower as it grew out of the stone chamber belonging to the Metropolitan Prison called Newgate*, published in 1650. This view, from the east side, represents a turreted and battlemented structure essentially Gothic, with pediments, statues, etc. which must have been added in the repair of 1630-31. The illustrations of Newgate after the Great Fire, in Maitland's *History of London* and Strype's *Stow*, are almost precisely similar, and they doubtless represent Whittington's gate with later adornments. Is it not possible that the massive substructure of the later gate laid bare to the south and south-west, and in less perfection to the south-east, with its subway carried down to the gravel, may have been part of the gate enlarged by the order of Henry II.? The City gates generally were taken down in 1761, but this, as it still formed part of the prison, seems to have remained standing until 1767; the foundation stone of the new prison, designed by George Dance, junior, being laid in 1770. The latter building, when hardly completed, was so much injured by fire in the Gordon riots of 1780, that no less a sum than £30,000 was necessary for the repairs. It was, however, rebuilt or repaired without any appreciable change of its appearance, and, if we except Wren's work, some consider it to have been the most impressive example of architectural design produced in London during the eighteenth century.

A very important subject in connection with the City wall is that of the defensive ditch outside it. This was at one time thought to have been entirely mediæval, because Stow in his *Survey*, on the authority of the *Liber Dunstable* and *Liber Sanctæ Trinitatis de Aldegate*, writes that "the ditch which partly now remaineth and compassed the wall of the city, was begun to be made by the Londoners in the year 1211, and was finished in the year 1213, the 15th of John—being then made of 200 feet broad." Stow recounts various instances of the cleansing of the ditch, but by his time it was being encroached upon, and the part of it immediately south of Newgate had been filled up, as is shown in Norden's plan of London, 1593, in that drawn by Joris Hoefnagel for Braun and Hogenberg, which may represent London as early as 1561 (for it has the steeple of old St. Paul's, destroyed in that year), and in the somewhat later plan attributed to Agas. Each of these represents a more or less continuous line of building along the east side of the Old Bailey.

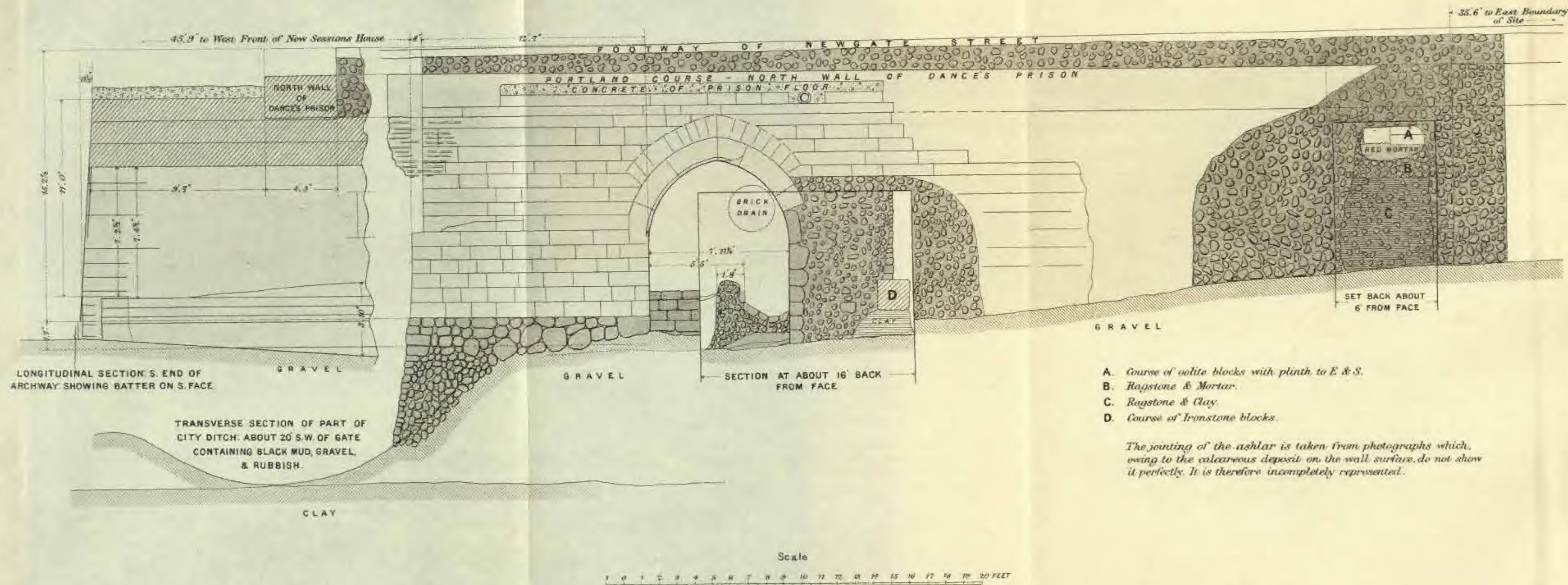
Mr. G. E. Fox, in his paper on the portion of Roman wall near Aldersgate examined in 1887,* has thrown fresh light on the subject. Near the site of the

* *Archæologia*, lii. 615, and Plate XV.



NEWGATE.—SECTION OF SOUTH END OF SUBWAY.

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SUBSTRUCTURE OF NEWGATE. SOUTH ELEVATION.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1904

gate on the west side a piece of the ditch was found and examined, a section of it being drawn, together with a ground plan of the site. From the base of the wall to the inner edge of the ditch there had been a flat bank, 10 feet 3 inches wide. The ditch itself, dug through a stratum of clay into a bed of sand and gravel, which it penetrated to a depth of 2 feet 9 inches, was 74 feet 6 inches wide across the top, the flat bottom being 35 feet in width and the depth 14 feet 1 inch. Both sides and bottom had a clay puddling 6 inches thick, and in the bottom was a raised mound or ridge, its surface also puddled, which, by comparison with a similar example at Silchester, is thought to have formed a base for timbers supporting a bridge across the ditch to the Roman gate.

On the Newgate site nothing so definite was discovered. Near the south end there was a line of mud or dark earth, beginning 8 feet or more west of the wall near the Roman ground level and having an even curve down towards the west. If the curve had been carried up on the inside to the ground level, there would have been room for a narrow bank between it and the wall. Beneath was gravel, and to all appearance it had formed the inner slope of the ditch. Further west the ground had generally been very much disturbed. Near the Newgate Street end, south-west of the substructure of the gateway, an excellent transverse section of part of a ditch was at one time visible, its mud resting on sandy gravel, the bottom of it being about 25 feet below the street level. The upper part had been cleared away for former prison foundations. If the curved line of the mud of the ditch were carried up to the same height on the west side as it was on the east, it would have been about 25 feet wide at this particular point, and supposing that the Roman wall from the south were prolonged in a straight line to the gate or as far north as this, the centre of the curve of the ditch would have been some 55 feet from its western face; but the western side of the ditch had been destroyed where the curve was rising, at a point which would have left room for a raised mound such as the one at Aldersgate.

The question naturally suggests itself, had such an arrangement existed here? For this seems at first sight rather probable, owing to the position and peculiar form of the section. On further inquiry, however, the two cases are found to be only to a limited extent analogous. If there had ever been a clay lining here it had totally disappeared, and the section had become curvilinear. The ground also had been so altered that it is best to leave the question an open one. The relative positions and levels of the gate plinth, the subway, and this section of the ditch are shown in Plate XIX.

At varying depths below by far the greater part of the prison area on the outside of the Roman wall, that is for a distance in some places of about 87 feet to the Old Bailey, and below the level of the section of ditch just referred to, a mass of black mud was discovered mixed with a certain amount of gravel and rubbish. It was found a few feet west of the section at a considerably greater depth; and at various points on a line about 45 feet from the Roman wall and parallel with it, this mud had an average depth of nearly 30 feet below the Newgate Street level, or 19 feet below the Roman ground level at the south end of the wall. Thus there is evidence of a ditch of this depth at least, and considerably more than 80 feet wide. The mud contained, among other relics, Roman and much mediæval pottery. It should be noted that the Roman pottery resting on the mud was not plentiful, and occurred chiefly near its inner edge, while a considerable quantity rested on the gravel. On the gravel also, some 35 feet from the line of the wall, a barrel about 3 feet 6 inches long was found, made of split staves with wooden hoops almost continuous from top to bottom, which contained Roman and mediæval pottery. It was placed on end, and, although perhaps comparatively modern, appeared to have served a similar purpose to the casks found at Silchester, namely, as a lining for a well or at least to collect water. There were traces of one or two other casks of a similar kind. Casks which had been thus used in mediæval times were found under the Bank of England in 1900, and described at a meeting of this Society by Sir Augustus Prevost.* Others came to light under a house in Coleman Street a few years ago. Near the barrel at Newgate, and also resting on the gravel, was a Samian bowl now in the Guildhall Museum. Near the south-east corner of the mud wooden piles were found. It should be added that Dance took his prison foundations right down to the gravel, and that in 1903 most of the prison area on the west side of the line of Roman wall had already been dug out and new foundations laid before the site was examined by any archaeologist. Information, however, as to the position and depth of the mud, the finding of the barrel and Samian bowl and their positions, and other points of interest, was freely given by Mr. Scales, the clerk of the works, who took much pains to be as accurate as possible.

To put briefly what suggests itself to the writer's mind with regard to the ditch at Newgate, the remains prove, if proof had been needed, that it was made in Roman times. The gravel and sand on which the mud generally rests,

* *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xviii. 355.

with clay not far below, must then have been charged with moisture, for even during the late excavations a great deal of water kept accumulating in the hollows. But it seems highly improbable on account of the levels, in spite of the puddled clay at Aldersgate, that the Romans made a regular wet ditch round the City. There is sufficient proof from the old records referred to previously that the ditch was reconstructed in the early part of the thirteenth century. Since then so many changes have taken place in that portion of it which is included in the site of Newgate that there we can feel no certainty as to its original form.

That the Romans carried the ditch outside the gate is in conformity with the evidence. It is not improbable that in mediæval times the road from the west, which may have been originally connected with the gate by a wooden bridge, was brought up to the gate, filling in the ditch. This would have made necessary the arched subway as a means of carrying off the water of the ditch. As the ditch was encroached upon there would have been no occasion for so large a passage, and the smaller channel would then have been formed within it. That in time would have been superseded or supplemented by the circular brick drain.

Before concluding, it will be right to say a few words about the objects of Roman and later times which came to light during the excavations. The former were numerous, but, as Mr. Herbert Jones informs me, of minor interest, except as throwing light on past history. They were found chiefly in the gravel, and, besides the piece of Samian ware already mentioned, which has on it figures and the name **ALBVC**, they consisted of many pieces of coarse pottery, chiefly Upchurch ware, part of a *mortarium* about 12 inches in diameter, much worn, a good piece of Roman grey ware, amphora handles, etc. There were about twenty bronze coins or more, of the times of Nero, Hadrian, and Vespasian.

Of later relics the most noteworthy were part of a small statue of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, held to represent St. Christopher with the infant Christ, which was found in fragments built into a late wall near the south end of the site and has been pieced together, and a sculptured head of good design but much mutilated, which had been built into the prison wall near the site of the gate. A photograph of this latter was first shown at a meeting of the Society, and gave rise to some discussion. The original was afterwards kindly lent by the authorities of the Guildhall, when it was seen to be seventeenth-century work; probably a head of one of the statues then placed on the gate.

The conjectural plan of the Roman gate, which appears on the general ground plan (Plate XIII.), has been suggested by Mr. Hope from parallel examples. It would be a typical Roman gate of about the middle of the third century; the undoubtedly Roman plinth and supposed Roman fragments fit into it in a remarkable manner.

The plans to illustrate this paper were drawn, and most of the photographs taken, by Mr. C. S. Mason, to whom I am besides indebted for much useful help. Permission has been given by the Art Reproduction Company to use the two of their photographs reproduced in Plates XV. and XVII.

APPENDIX.

The following Notes on London Wall may be considered supplementary to those of Mr. G. E. Fox in *Archæologia*, lii. pp. 612-614.

Record exists of over fifteen careful and detailed examinations of the City wall at various points, beginning with that of Dr. John Woodward in 1707. Owing to the accumulation of soil along the site of the old City defences the Roman ground level is always a good many feet under that of the present day, and all the upper part of the Roman wall disappeared probably long ago, but we can make out with fair accuracy what must have been its appearance. The wall examined at Newgate was a typical specimen as regards the lower portion.

The plinth of ironstone on the outside has been found not only at Newgate, but in the wall by Camomile Street laid bare in 1876 and described by Mr. J. E. Price, in the portion at Tower Hill examined in 1852, of which we have descriptions by Messrs. C. Roach Smith and A. H. Burkett and a drawing by F. W. Fairholt, and in the piece laid bare by Mr. A. A. Langley in 1880 when enlarging the railway near Fenchurch Street Station. On the site of the Wardrobe Tower, within the precinct of the Tower of London, a fragment of the Roman wall still exists with a similar plinth. This seems to be partly of a coarse oolite and partly of ferruginous sandstone. Excavations are now being made near the site, and will be duly recorded hereafter. Under the south end of the bit of Roman wall yet standing was found the usual puddled clay containing flint fragments.

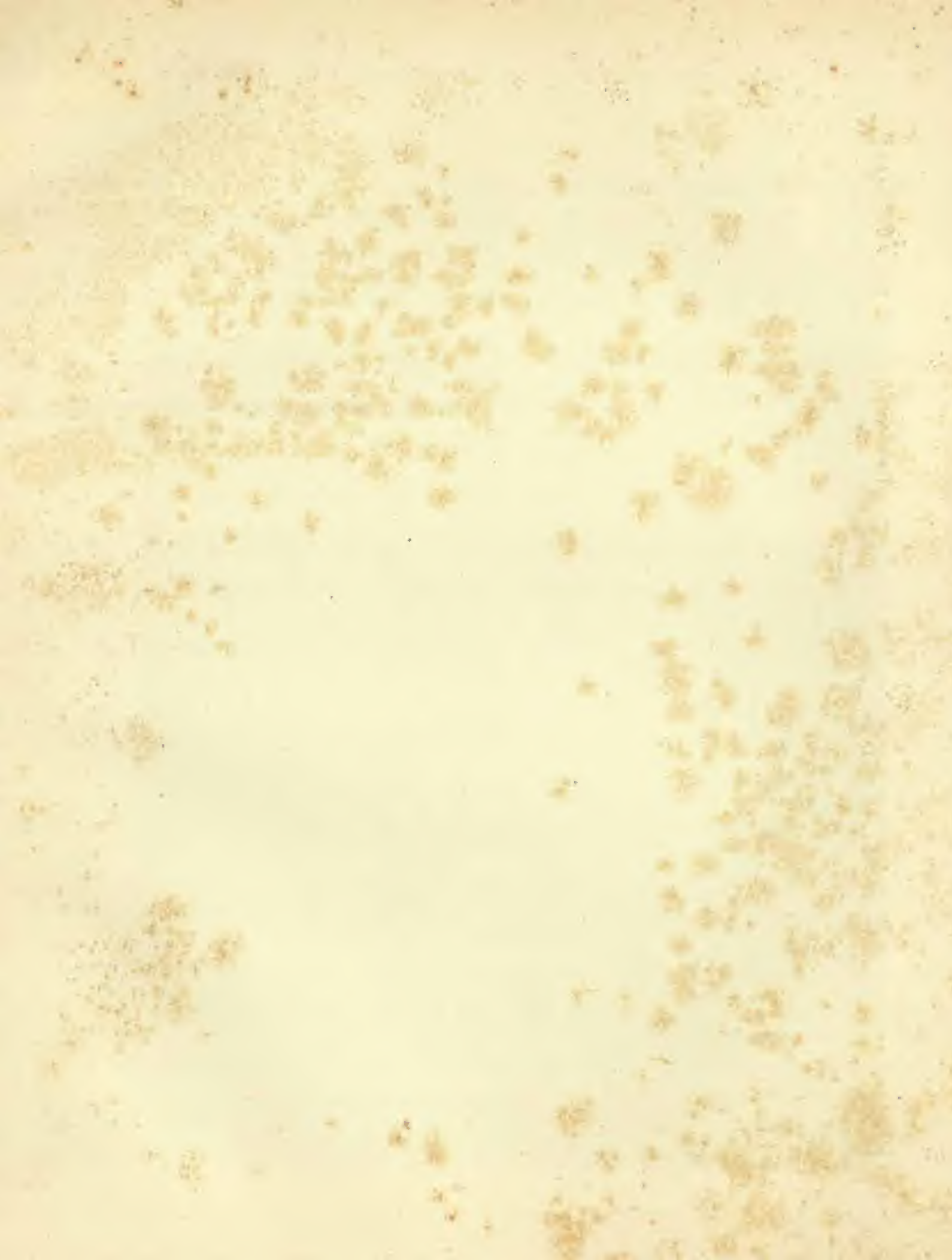
On the inside of the wall, at the same level as the plinth, there were usually three courses of flat Roman tiles set in thick joints of mortar, and extending into the wall for the breadth of one row only. These were observed not only at Newgate but in Camomile Street to be laid alternately lengthwise and breadthwise, the thickness of the tiles throughout the wall being $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch or rather less. They were almost always red, but yellow ones were to be found in places as far apart as Newgate, Aldersgate, Tower Hill, and the Tower of London.

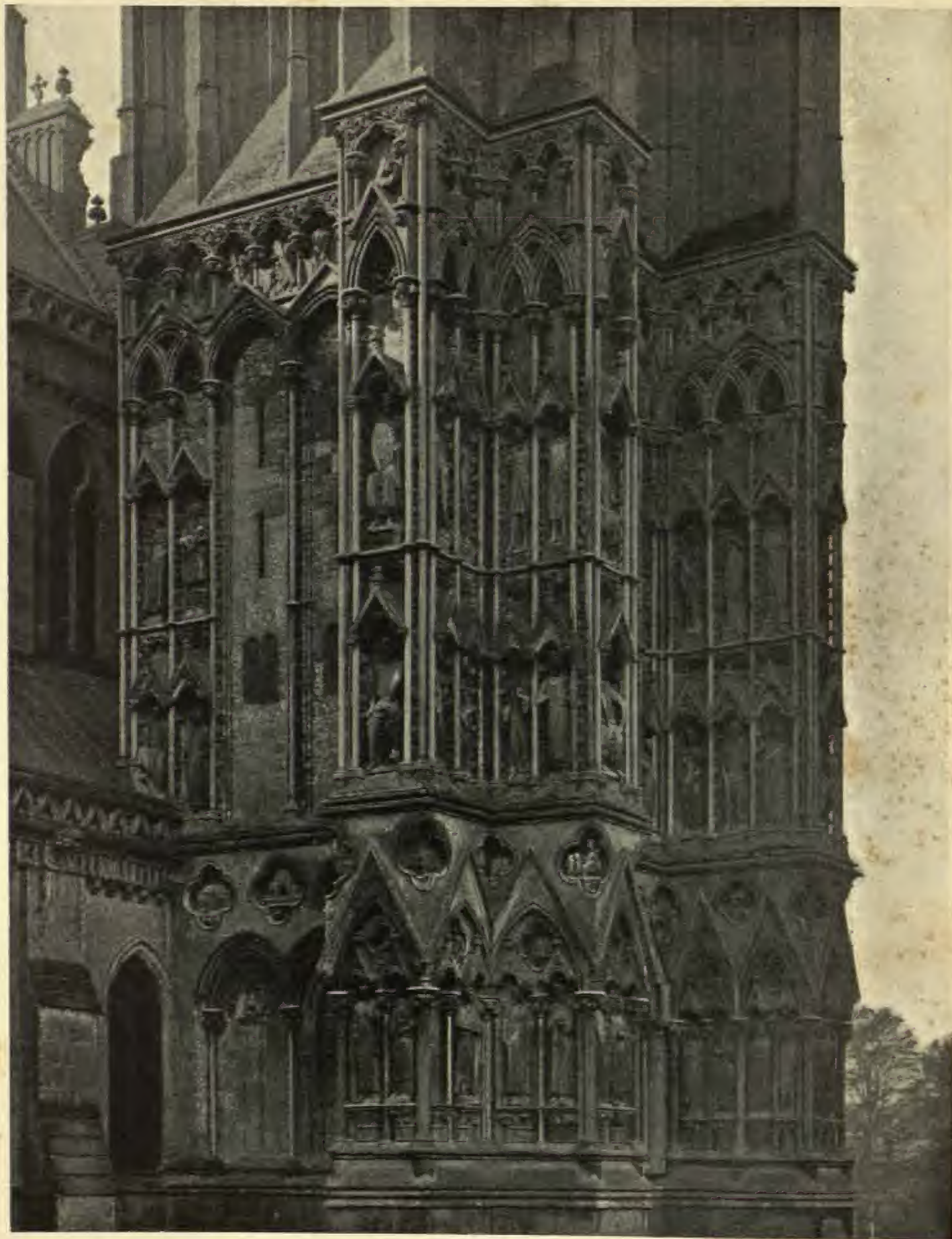
The thickness of the wall at the Roman ground level varied somewhat, as might be expected from its different positions and the varying nature of the soil on which it stood, and measurements have probably been not always accurate. The usual width appears to have been about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but the piece at the Tower of London, which is doubtless a continuation of the wall further north, being on a line with it, is only $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and Mr. Fox estimates that the width of the wall near Aldersgate was 8 feet. On the other hand, the portion examined by Mr. A. A. Langley in 1880, also on the east side of London, had, if his measurement is correct, a thickness of nearly 9 feet on the ground level. Mr. W. D. Saull, who examined a piece of wall by Aldersgate Street in 1841, and described it in vol. xxx. of

Archaeologia, speaks of its being only 6 feet wide, but the fragment had lost its facing stones, to judge from his accompanying illustration.

Mr. F. W. Reader, who has lately written a valuable paper on pile structures in the Walbrook,^a says that the layer of flint and puddled clay was only used "in those parts where clay formed the surface. Where gravel occurred it was considered a sufficiently good base to build directly upon," and he cites the case of a portion of Roman wall discovered at the back of No. 8, Old Bailey, in the year 1900, and described by Mr. J. Terry in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*. In structure this portion seems, as one would expect, almost identical with the wall at Newgate, but Mr. Terry says expressly that the foundation, consisting of 3 feet 6 inches in height of rubble work, rests on the ballast. In the same publication is a note, also by Mr. Terry, on the bastion in the Churchyard of St. Giles Cripplegate, the foundations of which he also reported to be on the ballast, but although this bastion contains Roman remains it is not proved to date from Roman times; indeed, if the illustration of a section be accurate, the lower part was not constructed like the Roman wall, while above the height of 4 feet from the foundation the work is undeniably later. It is well perhaps to repeat that on the other hand the puddled clay at Newgate, with its ragstone or flint fragments, had throughout rested on gravel. Again, Mr. A. A. Langley, in his account of the wall near the Fenchurch Street Railway Station, expressly says that a bed of flint and clay "had been laid on the natural gravel."

^a *Archæological Journal*, lx. 177.





WELLS CATHEDRAL CHURCH—VIEW OF THE NORTH TOWER SHOWING THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE IMAGERY AND SCULPTURES.

IX.—*The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral Church.*
By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. ; with Suggestions as to the identification
of some of the Images, by W. R. LETHABY, Esq.

Read 23rd and 30th June, 1904.

IN July, 1902, one of the images on the upper part of the north tower at Wells suddenly fell to the ground and was broken into many pieces. There had not been any reason for supposing that this or any other of the many images that adorn the west front was in a dangerous condition, but the Dean and Chapter at once took the wise and prudent course of ordering an inspection of the images, so far as this could be done without scaffolding. The report of the Surveyor to the Chapter, Mr. Edmund Buckle, was far from reassuring, and he recommended the substitution of proper bronze holdfasts for the decaying iron cramps by which most of the images were then secured. As a consequence of this report the Dean and Chapter ordered a section of the work to be taken in hand, beginning with the north tower, and when this was finished the scaffolding was moved to another section, and so eventually across the whole of the front and to the gable of the nave. All the images have thus as far as possible been made safe, and a deep debt of gratitude is due to the Dean and Chapter for thus helping to prolong the lives of these priceless sculptures, many of which were found to be in a very precarious state.

Soon after the work was begun, our Fellow Canon Church, who is also Sub-dean of Wells, in reporting the matter to the Society, suggested that advantage should be taken of the scaffolding to inspect at close quarters and make notes of the whole of the imagery and sculpture groups accessible from it. I was

accordingly instructed by the Executive Committee to undertake this, and through the facilities afforded me by the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter notes have now been made of all the imagery and sculptures, except those of the Resurrection tier, to which the scaffold did not extend.

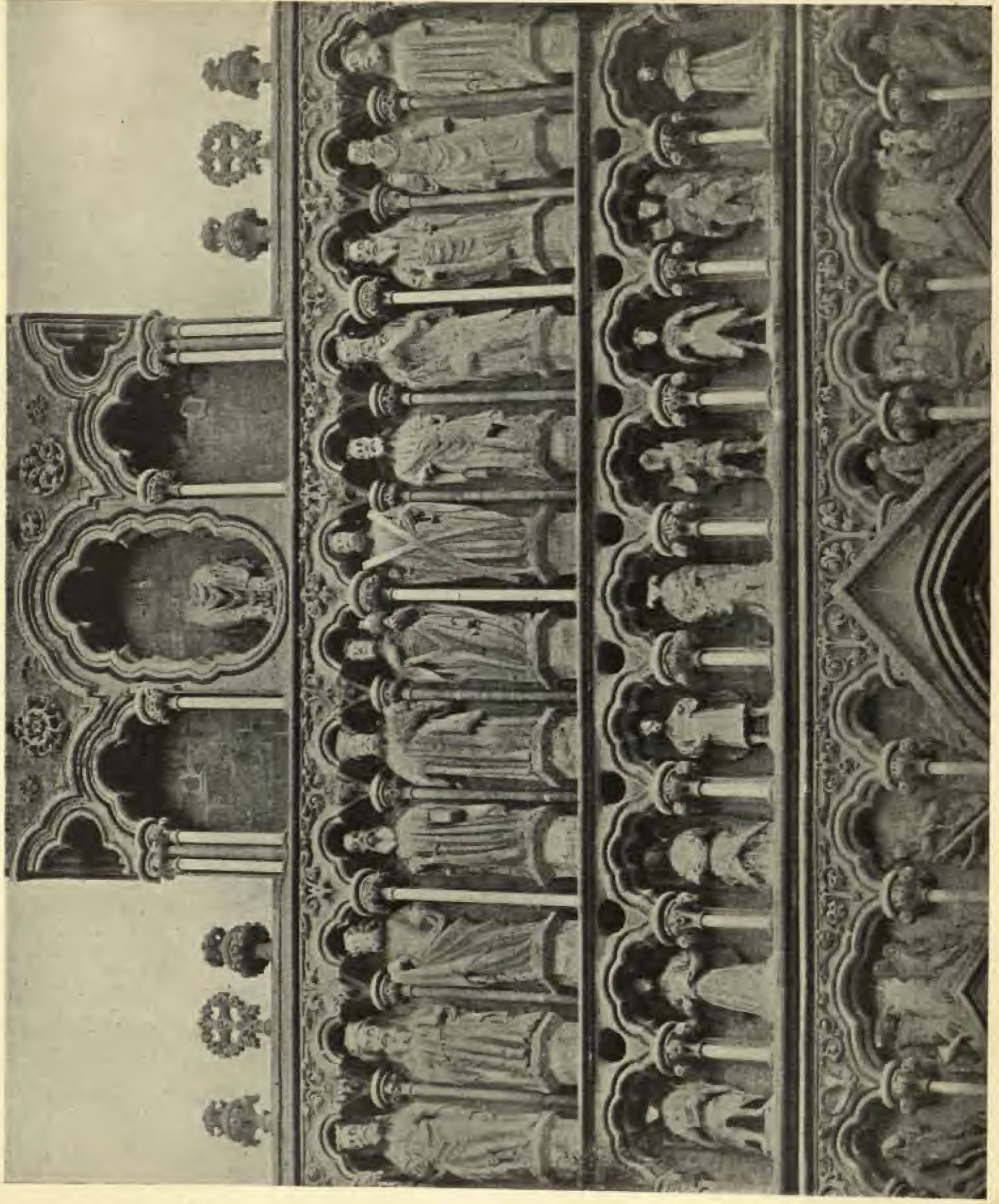
When the front was under repair about thirty years ago advantage was taken of the scaffold then set up, by Mr. T. W. Phillips of Wells, to secure a nearly complete set of photographs of the images, prints of which have lately been added to the Society's library. A further and in some respects more complete series has been taken from the scaffolding during the recent works by Messrs. Dawkes and Partridge of Wells, from which lantern slides have been made for the Society's collection. The Society is therefore possessed of ample material for a paper on the Imagery and Sculpture of Wells.

As the recent examination of the figures has brought to light a number of facts that have not hitherto been recorded, it has been thought advisable to embody them in a general review of the imagery as a whole, with a detailed description of every image and sculpture by way of Appendix.

The western end of the cathedral church of Wells may be described as consisting of a great screen of tabernacle work, covering not only the west end of the nave and its aisles, but enveloping the free sides of the two towers that extend severally northwards and southwards beyond the last bay of each aisle; it is also carried round all the buttresses of the towers as well as those that terminate the nave arcades. (Plate XX.) Of these buttresses two face eastwards, two on each tower face northwards and southwards respectively, and six face westwards. Most of the niches were originally filled with images or sculptures, but owing to the south tower being covered as to its south and east sides by the cloister and its western alley, the imagery does not extend beyond the west and south faces of the westernmost of its south buttresses. The south face of the eastern buttress of the north tower also has never held any images.

The whole of this screen is divided horizontally by a marble stringcourse into two main divisions.

The lower division is about 30 feet high, and is subdivided into (i) a plinth or ground story of plain ashlar work for about one-third its height, and (ii) a series of pairs of trefoiled niches, each pair being contained under a pointed arch enclosing a sunk quatrefoil and surmounted by a straight-sided pediment. In every niche is, or was, a standing image set upon a low moulded pedestal, and in each quatrefoil a half-length figure of an angel issuing from the clouds. Above



WELLS IMAGERY—THE ANGELS AND APOSTLES. ETC. OF THE WESTERN GABLE.

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the pediments of the niches is a second series of sunk quatrefoils, of larger size than those below,* continued in a somewhat awkward fashion both upon and within the angles of the buttresses. These quatrefoils contain groups of sculpture. The pairs of niches are interrupted on the three free faces of the towers and across the west end of the aisles by coupled windows which take their places. The arrangement is also broken by the intrusion into it of the great western portal. This is surmounted by a special niche of different size and shape from the rest, forming a broad shallow recess with trefoiled head, which is carried up so high as to intrude somewhat upon the large flanking quatrefoil panels. It contains a mutilated representation of the so-called Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.

The upper division of the front is about 42 feet high, and consists of a series of tall pointed panels. On the buttresses and between the western windows of the nave these contain a double tier of niches, and there are narrow pairs of panels, similarly divided, on the faces of the towers. All these niches contain standing images, save those on the fronts of the buttresses, which have, with one exception, seated figures. Above the pediments of the panels space is left below the great stringcourse for an arcade of trefoiled arches carried by detached shafts, with spandrels filled with beautifully carved foliage. These arches form a continuous band of housings carried all round the front, including the buttresses, containing groups of figures representing the Resurrection of the Dead.

Above the west end of the nave the space between the flanking buttresses has, instead of a pointed gable, a horizontal band of imagery work, in two tiers. (Plate XXI.) The lower contains a row of low trefoiled niches with figures representing the nine Orders of Angels; the upper, a row of tall and narrow niches, also trefoiled, with figures of the Twelve Apostles.^b Surmounting the whole is a rectangular pediment containing an octofoil panel in the middle with the lower part of a figure of Our Lord in Majesty, flanked by two wide trefoiled niches, now empty. This image of Our Lord is contemporary with the thirteenth-century work in which it is set.

At the present time the images and sculptures that remain in the niches are popularly known by the names and ascriptions conferred upon them by Mr. Cockerell nearly sixty years ago.^c As these names are for the most part

* The openings measure about 3 feet across.

^b These sets of images are of different dates, and both are considerably later than the series below them.

^c C. R. Cockerell, *Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral* (Oxford and London, 1851).

purely assumptive, and the ascriptions of the sculptures sometimes obviously wrong, it has been thought better and more convenient to distinguish every panel and niche by a particular letter or number, and in such a way as to indicate not only its horizon but its exact place in the series.^a

If the Apostles and Orders of Angels, and the Resurrection tier, be omitted, there is no difficulty in dividing all the sculpture groups and images into those that are placed respectively north and south of the Coronation group over the west doorway.

It is accordingly proposed to distinguish

- (i) the lower tier of niches by Roman numerals, I, II, III, etc. reckoning outwards from the doorway, and prefixed by N. or S. according to their position north or south of it.
- (ii) the half-length figures of angels in the smaller quatrefoils by Roman capital letters, A, B, C, etc. prefixed as above by N. or S.
- (iii) the sculpture groups in the larger quatrefoils by the smaller Roman letters, a, b, c, etc. prefixed by N. or S. Since there are more than twenty-six quatrefoils on the north side, the rest may be indicated by double letters, aa, bb, cc, dd, and ee.
- (iv) the niches of the upper series by Arabic numerals. If these be numbered vertically, all the lower rank will have odd numbers and the upper rank even numbers. Every number is to be prefixed by N. or S. and counted outwards from the middle vertical line.^b

The letters and numbers thus tabulate themselves :

Lower tier :

Images : S.I, S.II, etc. ; N.I, N.II, etc.

Angels : S.A, S.B, etc. ; N.A, N.B, etc.

Groups : S.a, S.b, etc. ; N.a, N.b, etc.

^a Cockerell has given numbers to the subjects of his first, third, and fourth and fifth tiers, but uses the same form of number for each. A more recent writer, the Rev. Percy Dearmer, in *The Cathedral Church of Wells* (Bell's Series, London, 1899), proposes to number the whole of the existing images and sculptures (excluding the half-angels) only, consecutively from bottom to top, beginning on the south side.

^b The images of this series on the fronts of the buttresses might be further distinguished by the addition (B) to the number.

Upper tier :

Lower Series : S.1, S.3, S.5, etc. ; N.1, N.3, N.5, etc.

Upper Series : S.2, S.4, S.6, etc. ; N.2, N.4, N.6, etc.

The places available for images and groups, and the number of existing sculptures, are as follows :

Lower tier :

Images : S.II—S.XXIII	=22, of which	2 remain.
N.II—N.XXXIX	=38 ^a	„ 17 „
Angels : S.A—S.K	=11	„ 7 „
N.A—N.S	=19 ^b	„ 14 „
Groups : S.a—S.r	=18	„ 15 „
N.a—N.ee	=31	„ 20 „

Upper tier :

Images : S.1—S.42	=42	„	39	„
N.1—N.68	} =74 ^a	„	69	„
N.73—N.78				
<hr/> Giving a total of 255		„	<hr/> 183	„

It will be seen from the above table that the only part of the series that has suffered any serious loss is the lower tier, and this loss is confined almost entirely to the images that once filled the western niches, of which only two remain at each end out of a probable forty-two. Of the angels nine have gone, and there has been a loss of eleven of the northern and three of the southern sculpture-groups. On the north and east faces of the north tower, although the figures and sculptures are equally within reach, they have suffered hardly any loss, only one image and two of the groups of sculptures being missing.

The reason for the destruction of the western groups and images is not easy to explain, and it is equally difficult to say when it took place.^c

^a Niches N.XL, N.XLI, and N.69—N.72 exist, but apparently never contained images.

^b There is a quatrefoil N.T, but it is on that face of the buttress of the tower which seems never to have had any figures, and therefore probably did not contain an angel.

^c A great deal of the damage to the angels and sculpture groups has been caused by boys throwing stones at the birds which have nested behind them.

Before discussing what the original scheme may have been, it will be as well to quote the one early notice of the imagery which has come down to us, that given by William of Worcester in his Itinerary :

Memorandum quod in occidentali et boriali parte ecclesie principalis sancti Andree sunt tres magne boterasses cum tribus ordinibus magnorum ymaginum de veteri lege.

Et in plana occidentali ecclesie sunt sex magne et alte boterasses situate ad latitudines .6. pedum et densitudines circa trium virgarum cum tribus ordinibus magnarum ymaginum de nova lege sculptarum.

Et in occidentali et boriali parte dicte ecclesie sunt duo maxime boterasses ad altitudines circa .lx. pedum cum tribus ordinibus sculptarum [*sic*] cum magnis ymaginibus de nova lege.*

William's "west and north part" in the first paragraph refers of course to the north tower, which has one buttress facing east and two facing north; its two western buttresses he includes among the "six great and tall" buttresses of the west front described in the second paragraph. The third paragraph evidently refers to the south tower, but according to William's reckoning it has three buttresses, like the north tower, whereas he describes two only, and only one of these (*viz.* the south-western), if he means the two southern, seems ever to have had images in its niches.

It will be noticed that the buttresses are described as having three orders or tiers of great images, of which those on the north tower represented the Old Law, and those along the front and on the south tower the New Law.

It would be interesting to know why they are so described. So far as we can tell, there is nothing about the images to justify such an ascription; it is possible, however, that William was led astray by the groups of sculpture. These certainly represent scenes from the Old Law and the New Law, but even then they do not correspond at all with his division, the sculptures of the Old Law being all south of the great west door, while those of the New Law begin on the north side of the door and extend northwards, and all round the north tower.

From these preliminary remarks it is time to turn to the images themselves. These are all carved out of the same material, the local Doulling stone of which the cathedral church itself is built, and, with some few exceptions, each is

* James Nasmyth, *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (Cambridge, 1778), 285. The above passage occurs on p. 211 of the original MS., and has been most kindly collated for me by my friend Mr. J. W. Clark, F.S.A.

wrought from a single block which is generally hollowed out at the back for lightness. The figures vary considerably in height, a few measuring as much as 8 feet, but the majority are about life size. In placing them no attempt has been made to range those of a height together, and many of the shorter figures are perched on blocks or carved pedestals to raise them.^a

The costumes throughout exhibit a singular uniformity. Bishops, priests, and deacons are invariably vested for mass; bishops of Rome wear plain conical tiaras instead of mitres, but there is no instance of a pall to distinguish an archbishop from a bishop. Kings, nobles, and other laymen wear loose or belted tunics, reaching to the ankles, with mantles, and crowns or round caps on their heads according to their degree. Ladies are clad in long gowns that cover the feet, and mantles, and wear veils, with crowns or caps, etc. over them, according as they are of royal descent or otherwise. Warriors are shown in complete armour and short surcoats. The figures are further characterised by an universal omission of ornamental detail: there are no orphreys to the vestments, no patterns on dresses or borders, no jewels on the crowns, caps, or belts^b; but a sparing use of brooches of simple form may be found among the figures of the ladies. The sceptres,^c staves, swords, or lances that were borne by many of the figures were not carved in stone, but seem, from the absence of all traces of metal, to have been of oak or some other wood, which has long perished.

In dealing with the subjects of the imagery and sculptures it will be convenient to begin with the great west doorway.

This is set, owing to the thickness of the wall, within an outer arch, simply moulded, with the orders carried by detached shafts with richly carved capitals. The doorway itself is double, consisting of two plain pointed openings divided by a clustered shaft with carved capital. The pointed tympanum above is almost filled with a large sunk quatrefoil with moulded border, containing a mutilated figure of Our Lady and Child and flanked by two censing angels. (Plate XXII. fig. 1.)

The figure of Our Lady has unfortunately lost the head. She is clad in an under robe with narrow girdle strap, open at the neck and showing an under

^a Owing to the upper niches of the upper tier being somewhat taller than the lower niches, nearly all the standing images within them are raised on blocks to bring the heads well under cover of the canopies; this is seldom the case with the images in the lower niches.

^b It has been suggested that in view of the fact that all the figures were once coloured, the ornamental details may have formed part of the painted decoration.

^c The sceptre seems in every case to have been held in the right hand.

dress fastened at the throat by a small brooch, and a mantle which hangs over the shoulders and is brought round from the right side over the knees. The right hand, as may be seen from the socket for it in the knee, once held a sceptre, but both hand and sceptre are broken away. The left hand supports upon the left knee a seated figure of the Infant Saviour, but the upper half of this has been destroyed. Our Lady is seated upon a bench covered with a cloth and with richly carved ends, and has her left foot upon a dragon.

The abundant traces of colouring show that Our Lady's robe was red, and the mantle black with a lining of green. The Infant Saviour's robe was crimson. The carving of the bench has also been painted green. The back of the niche has been coloured red, upon which are traces of green, perhaps the remains of a diaper. The flat surface outside the quatrefoil was painted red like that within, and apparently also with a green diaper pattern.

Round the margin of the field of the quatrefoil, and arranged concentrically with its side and top limbs, is a series of large plugholes, and there is a similar plughole filled with lead over each end of the bench. Surrounding these latter are two concentric rings of small wooden plugs, and two like rings of plugs encircle the place of Our Lady's head. There is nothing whatever to indicate the nature of the ornaments for which these fixings were made, but the small size of the wooden plugs shows that they were something slight.*

There is another group of plugholes over the capital of the dividing pillar of the doorway, but there is nothing to show what was affixed there.

The flanking angels, which are beautifully designed to fit their places, have unfortunately lost their heads and arms, and their censers. They are vested in amices and girded albes, and their wings were painted green.

The richly carved order of the arch that encloses the doorway seems to have had the carving painted white and the mouldings red.

The doorway is further enclosed by a second order with foliage carved in chalk or clunch, which has been painted in colours, and beyond this by an elaborately sculptured outer order, also wrought in chalk. The carvings of this consist of ten female figures, five on each side, standing under canopies. The uppermost canopy on each side is surmounted by a demi-angel holding a crown, on which account Mr. Lethaby thinks the figures may represent the Virtues. They have unfortunately been woefully mutilated and all have lost their hands and heads.

* They are only $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch in diameter, and have holes in them about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. The plugs are apparently of fir.



Fig. 2. The Coronation of our Lady.



Fig. 1. Our Lady and Child, from the west doorway.

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N.XXIX.

N.XXVIII.

N.XXVII.

N.XXVI.

WELLS IMAGERY—FOUR FEMALE FIGURES FROM THE LOWER TIER.

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One on the south side held a book, and one on the north a globular object. Some of them have girded gowns, and some mantles, and all were once coloured. Owing to the nature of the material and the smallness of the figures, the carving is of a delicacy almost approaching that in ivory.

The niches north and south of the doorway, as the remaining pedestals show, all contained images, except perhaps the two nearest to it, which are much encroached upon by its outer arch. The backgrounds of all these niches have been painted a deep red colour.

Of the twenty-three niches south of the doorway only the two southernmost, S.XXII and S.XXIII, now contain images; and the niches north of the doorway have images only in N.XXI and N.XXII. Of these N.XXI is different in character from the rest, and from others on the north tower that belong to the same series;* it seems possible, therefore, that it may have been brought down from one of the now empty niches of the upper tier. The three remaining figures along the front are unfortunately badly weathered, but they represent men in the prime of life, bareheaded, and with long wavy hair. They seem to have held objects such as books in their hands, sometimes in veils or sudaries. Two figures round the north corner, N.XXIV and N.XXV, show the same treatment, except that one has a cap like those worn by the Rabbis in the sculpture (N.K) of Christ disputing with the Doctors of the Law.

The very perfect series of images on the west front of the cathedral church of Exeter, although of later date, has for the central subject of the upper tier that known as the Coronation of Our Lady. The figures north and south of this, thirty-three in all, are divided into groups of the twelve Apostles, four Evangelists, and seventeen Prophets. The corresponding niches at Wells, those of the west front proper, are forty-six in number, of which forty-four certainly held images. The few figures that are left are not much to base a working theory upon, but bearing in mind their association with the sculptured groups above them of the Old and the New Law, it is inherently probable that the lost Wells images also were those of the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Major and the Minor Prophets, and of other folk mentioned in Holy Writ, such as Melchisedech, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, the Patriarchs, King David, John Baptist, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus and other Disciples, St. Stephen, etc. and perhaps representations of the Church and the Synagogue. As forming part of such a series the four female figures on the north tower (Plate XXIII.) may represent Joanna the wife

* N.XXIV and XXV, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII.

of Chuza, Salome the wife of Zebedee, Mary Magdalene with her box of ointment, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, who were among the witnesses to the Resurrection. The four noble male figures beyond, two of whom are shown in Plate XXXVIII., may stand for Silas, Mark, and other companions of St. Paul, and the six deacons and subdeacons those appointed with St. Stephen, for whom place was probably found on the front.

It may be objected that the twelve Apostles have a place elsewhere on the front, and that, although they are of later date, the niches in which they stand were evidently prepared for such a series.

The answer to this objection is twofold. First, there is no reason against the figures of the Apostles being repeated, inasmuch as the teaching of the upper group is so distinct from that of the lower, and at Exeter St. John appears twice, as Apostle and as Evangelist. Secondly, there is architectural evidence which suggests that the upper part of the front above the Resurrection tier is different in design from what was contemplated when the front was begun,* and if we may assume, as seems likely, that the images were inserted while the front was in building, a series of Apostles may have been arranged alongside the Coronation group before the upper series was decided upon and provided for. It is further by no means certain that the twelve niches below the Majesty were meant to be filled with the Apostles at all, as they actually were at a later date.

The angel figures in the quatrefoils above the images have suffered much mutilation, only two or three being perfect. They are the work of several hands, and consequently exhibit great variety of treatment (Plate XXIV.). But generally they wear albes or tunics and mantles or copes: they are also all nimbed and winged, and issue from beds of clouds. The hands are extended, and usually hold in a sudary, which passes before, behind, or around the body, a pair of crowns or mitres, and sometimes a palm branch or book. A few held scrolls instead. Three of the southern series are carved in a white stone like clunch, and all are wrought in separate blocks of stone placed within the quatrefoils.

The groups of sculpture filling the larger quatrefoils are also carved in separate blocks, but those occupying the inner angles often have the subject worked on two pieces. The blocks themselves are not fixed, but stand of their

* There is architectural evidence inside the church that the three tall lancets lighting the west end of the nave were originally intended to be subdivided so as to form a double tier, and there are grounds for believing that until they were altered late in the fourteenth century they so showed internally. But externally this evidence is entirely wanting, which suggests a change in the elevation while the work was in progress.



S.F



S.I



S.D



S.G

WELLS SCULPTURES—ANGELS FROM THE LOWER TIER.

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S.h



S.l



S.k



own weight, with an occasional stone wedge to keep them in place. Their somewhat smaller size as compared with the openings of the quatrefoils shows that they have been carved and put in place after the quatrefoils had been built.

As has been described above, the subjects of those to the south of the great doorway are taken from the Old Testament or Old Law, and those to the north from the New Testament or New Law.

The series of sculpture subjects is divided by a large niche above the great west door, containing a representation of the so-called Coronation of the Virgin, but which perhaps more properly has reference to the marriage of Christ and his Bride the Church (Plate XXII. fig. 2). The niche is trefoiled, with side shafts with carved capitals, and is surmounted by a curious pointed pediment. Owing to the intrusion of the apex of the doorway below into the lower part of the niche, its contents are raised upon a sort of platform. The figures are represented as seated upon a bench or settle with moulded edge. That of Our Lord, which is on the sinister side, has unfortunately lost the head. He is clad in an under dress, a tunic, and a mantle, which is hung from the back of the shoulders and brought round from the right over the knees and left arm. A fragment of the hair on the shoulder shows that it was long and wavy. The left hand probably held the orb, but has been broken away. The right arm was outstretched towards the Blessed Virgin, but the part below the elbow, which was carved out of the same block as Our Lady's figure, has been broken away. The feet, which are bare, rest upon the body and tail respectively of a lion. The Blessed Virgin is clad in a long robe, girded with a strap and slit at the throat, a mantle hanging over the shoulders, and a veil. The head and hands are unfortunately broken away. She has pointed shoes on her feet, and under the right foot is a small dragon.

Within the niche is a triple belt of plugholes following the curves of the trefoiled head, and going down to the base of the niche on each side, and in the spandrel of the pediment above is another series arranged crescent wise, apparently for some ornamental fixtures, as in the panel with Our Lady and Child lower down. Beyond the strong traces of the ochre wash which once covered these and all the images on the front there are now no visible remains of colour.

The groups of the sculptures of the Old Law were probably eighteen in number, of which fifteen remain. The first is unfortunately lost, but as the series of the New Law begins with a figure of St. John as typifying the Gospel, that of the Old Law may well have begun with (*a*) a figure of Moses as the Lawgiver, especially as all the subjects following are taken from the Book of Genesis. They represent (*b*) the Creation of Adam, (*c*) the Creation of Eve, (*d*) the Prohibition of

the Tree of Knowledge, (*e*) The Fall, (*f*) the Detection of Adam and Eve, (*g*) [lost, probably the Expulsion from Paradise], (*h*) Adam delving and Eve spinning, (*i*) the Sacrifice of Cain, (*j*) [lost, probably the Sacrifice and Death of Abel], (*k*) the shooting of Cain by Lamech, (*l*) Noah building the Ark, (*m*) the Ark upon the waters. The next three (*n*) (*o*) (*p*) are doubtful, but (*q*) is perhaps the Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh by Jacob; (*r*), if it ever existed, is lost. Plate XXV. shows the left half of (*h*), the two halves of (*k*), and (*l*).

The groups of the New Law were originally thirty-one in number. They begin with (*a*) a beautiful figure of St. John, who is represented as seated, with his left hand on his Gospel, which is perched on the back of an eagle, while he points with his right to the graven version of the great story unfolded beyond. It is interesting to notice that the Evangelist is shown as winged, angel-fashion; perhaps as an impersonation of the Gospel itself. (Plate XXVI.)

The gaps in the New Law groups are more serious than in the Old, as many as eleven, or nearly one-third, being lost, while some of those that remain are so broken or weathered as to be difficult of interpretation. Following St. John were probably (*b*) the Annunciation and (*c*) the Visitation, but both are gone, and though part of (*d*) the Nativity is left, the next five also are missing. They may have represented (*e*) the Circumcision, (*f*) the Presentation in the Temple, (*g*) the Adoration of the Three Kings, (*h*) the Flight into Egypt, and (*i*) the Massacre of the Innocents. Of the next subject (*j*) some fragments remain (perhaps of the Return from Egypt) which are not easy to make out, but the following one, (*k*) Christ disputing with the Doctors (Plate XXVI.), is well preserved and of great interest. Two scenes (*l* and *m*) in the story of John Baptist come next, and then two more gaps occur, perhaps of (*n*) the Baptism of Christ and (*o*) the Temptation of Christ. The next two sculptures are fairly perfect: the one (*p*) represents Our Lord reading from a scroll to a number of men, perhaps in the Synagogue at Nazareth; the other (*q*) Christ in Simon's House. The two next groups (*r* and *s*) also belong to our Lord's ministry, but are somewhat weathered. The next (*t*), representing the Transfiguration, is a singularly beautiful composition, as well as (*u*) the Entry into Jerusalem. (*v*) Judas covenanting for the thirty pieces, and (*w*) the curious groups of the Last Supper follow. A group (*x*) that probably represented the Betrayal is lost, and the four that follow are all more or less injured; the last of them (*bb*) represented Christ bearing his Cross. The Crucifixion (*cc*) is lost, but the series fittingly ends with (*dd*) the Resurrection and (*ee*) the Ascension.

The two ranges of niches forming the upper tier are 120 in number, but four of those on the north tower, which from their position could not easily be seen, do



N.k



N.n



N.l



N.78
? St. Theopistis.



N.76
St. Eustace.



N.24
St. Thomas of Canterbury.

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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not seem ever to have held figures, while eight others are now empty, leaving a present total of 108 that still contain images.

Seeing that so many figures remain, it would at first sight seem quite easy to suggest the meaning, order, and arrangement of the whole. But the difficulties in the way are considerable, chiefly on account of the absence of any distinguishing emblems. In many cases it is impossible owing to the loss of the hands and forearms from decay to say whether the images held anything or not, but there is a fair number still perfect or only slightly mutilated which certainly did not carry anything of special reference.

Mr. Cockerell, with the utmost confidence, divided the whole into a spiritual side to the south and a temporal side to the north, and gave to the former the names of the bishops of Sherborne and Wells and to the latter those of the temporal princes under whom the Church flourished from Egbert, king of Wessex, to Henry III., with "the minor and subsidiary celebrities, princes, princesses, holy men, and foreign alliances, who made up the glory of the Saxon period." But though his main contention may not be far from the truth, his identifications are in many cases obviously wrong, as for instance when he makes a priest into Bishop Roger of Salisbury, two popes into Aldred of York and Robert of Canterbury, and two royal abbesses into Osburga and Emma; he also wrongly names undoubted figures of SS. Edward the Martyr, Kenelm, Oswald, Thomas, and Eustace.

One fact that soon becomes apparent from an examination of these upper figures is the deliberate omission of so many of the saints usually found in or associated with such series; and we look in vain for Katharine and Margaret, Laurence and Giles, Christopher and Martin, and a host of others equally familiar or popular.

On the other hand very many of the English saints mentioned by Beda and William of Malmesbury have possible representations among the imagery, and a few can be identified with certainty. Indeed it would be quite easy to assign names from William's *Gesta Pontificum* to all the prelates, monks, and hermits of the southern range, and from his *Gesta Regum* to the kings, queens, princes, and nobles of the northern series. There are, however, difficulties even here, such as the finding names for the eight men in armour on the north side and the kings and nobles other than the martyrs mentioned below; while the undoubted figures of three popes, as well as one representing St. Eustace, show that the series cannot be restricted to English saints alone, though the balance of probability is strongly in its favour as regards the majority of the standing images.

A few figures, owing to their peculiar treatment, fortunately can be identified,

such as N.76, a man standing in a stream and carrying two children, who must be St. Eustace, and N.24, a bishop holding in his hands the severed crown of his head, who is almost certainly St. Thomas of Canterbury. (Plate XXVII.) The armed figure (N.22) beside St. Thomas may represent St. George (Plate XLV.), and the other solitary warrior (N.18) the hermit-knight St. Godric of Finchale. Four kings can also be identified as St. Kenelm (N.11), St. Edward the Martyr (N.13), St. Oswald (N.17), and St. Ethelbert the Martyr (N.21). (See below.) The youth with a sword (N.4) from his prominent position almost certainly represents St. Alban. (Plate XXIX.) The bishop (N.32) facing St. Thomas may well be St. Elphege, and the priest next him (N.30) St. Amphibalus. The remaining standing bishop on the north side (N.56) is probably St. Erkenwald, and the lady beside him (N.54) his sister St. Ethelburga of Barking. (Plate XLIX.) One dignified figure of a queen who held a sceptre (N.6), among the group in the middle of the front, is distinguished from all the other images by having white stones set in her crown by way of jewels. (Plate XLIII.) There is also a man (N.45) pointedly displaying a peculiar form of gaiter or wading boot which extends up to his thigh. (Plate XLVI.) But neither of these can be identified with certainty, and so of many others.

The twenty images on the fronts of the buttresses are distinguished from the rest by being on a somewhat larger scale, and with one exception by being seated instead of standing. (Plate XXVIII.) The exception to the sitting figures is a pope (N.42) on the north tower, and he is so obviously out of place,^a that it seems almost certain that he has been moved here from another niche, perhaps N.40, immediately to the west, to replace a lost sitting figure.

The nineteen seated figures include two popes, seven bishops, a priest, seven kings, and two princes or nobles.

Certain features peculiar to these images suggest that they form a series distinct from the standing figures that flank them. Thus two of the kings, S 10 and N.10 (Plate LI.), have each what seems to be a charter or other writing outspread upon one knee, and may therefore represent special benefactors, like Edward the Confessor and Richard I. It is also possible that among them are included the king, pope, bishop, and dean who were living at the time of the completion of the front.^b

^a When viewed from the ground, the figure does not fill the niche like the rest, and is of the same smaller scale as the other standing figures.

^b N.68 may represent the dean, and N.67 King Henry III. S.33 might represent the bishop, and S.34 the pope. N.41 may be Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother.



N.57



N.9

WELLS IMAGERY—SEATED FIGURES ON THE BUTTRESSES

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N.4
ST. ALBAN.



N.2



S.6

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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The principal figures of the standing series are apparently a king (S.1) and a young queen (N.1) immediately over the Coronation group, whom Mr. Lethaby (*see post*) claims to represent Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. (Plate XXXIV.) They form part of a special group of, originally, sixteen figures, all apparently of note, if they could but be identified, viz. :

[N.8]	[N.6]	[N.4]	[N.2]	[S.2]	[S.4]	[S.6]	[S.8]
Young Queen. (Plate XLIII.)	Queen with jewelled crown. (Plate XLIII.)	ST. ALBAN. (Plate XXIX.)	Widow Lady. (Plate XXIX.)	Young Queen.	<i>lost.</i>	Widow Lady. (Plate XXIX.)	<i>lost.</i>
[N.7]	[N.5]	[N.3]	[N.1]	[S.1]	[S.3]	[S.5]	[S.7]
King.	ST. EDMUND? K.M.	ST. EDWIN? K.M. (Plate XXXI.)	QUEEN OF SHEBA. (Plate XXXIV.)	KING SOLOMON. (Plate XXXIV.)	Bishop.	Bishop holding a church. (Plate XL.)	Bishop. (Plate XL.)

To the south of this group all the standing images are bishops, except two monks, and four hermits who occupy the middle place of the group.

The four hermits may represent Aldwine, Benignus, Edwold, and Guthlac, all of whom are specially mentioned by William of Malmesbury, and the two monks Beda, and either John the Scot, or Meldum the founder of Malmesbury Abbey. The twenty-two bishops ought to include Alcuin, Aldhelm, Anselm, Athelwold, Austin, Birinus, Chad, Cathbert, David, Dunstan, Egwin, Felix, John of Beverley, Osmund, Oswald, Patrick, Paulinus, Swithun, Theodore, Wilfrid, and Wulstan, all of whom have ever been regarded as saints and confessors deserving of special honour. The mitred figures holding books may represent bishops who once were abbots.

Of the standing figures to the north, most of the male figures are kings, but there is a considerable proportion of crowned and uncrowned ladies, and of princes or nobles, and warriors; the only ecclesiastical figures are three bishops and a priest. On the west front a set of four royal ladies, two of whom are widows or wear a religious dress, occupies the position corresponding to that of the four hermits on the south.

One series of twelve images, nine of which are kings, is distinguished by being represented standing upon diminutive crouching or squirming figures, and must therefore be martyrs, for which reason it has been possible to identify some of them.

They are as follows ; and ten of them it will be seen are ranged in pairs :

- N. 3. Bearded king, standing upon a recumbent knight who is plunging a dagger into his own throat.—? *St. Edwin, M.* (Plate XXXI.)
- N. 5. Bearded king, standing upon a crouching man (mutilated).—? *St. Edmund, M.*
- N. 11.* Boy-king, standing upon the back of a crowned lady with an open book before her face.—*St. Kenelm, M.* (Plate XXX.)
- N. 13. Boy-king, holding the foot of a (broken) cup, standing on a crowned lady with long hair.—*St. Edward, M.* (Plate XXX.)
- N. 15. Bearded king, standing on a broken and decayed figure of a man.—? *St. Oswyn, M.* (Plate XXXI.)
- N. 17. Bearded king, holding a shallow dish and standing upon a much decayed recumbent figure.—*St. Oswald, M.* (Plate XXXI.)
- N. 21. Bearded king, standing upon the head and knees of a recumbent figure of a woman with long hair, round cap, and long loose gown.—*St. Ethelbert, M.* (Plate XLIV.)
- N. 23. Bearded king, standing on a recumbent (headless) man with his hands tied together at the wrists.—? *St. Ethelred, M.* (Plate XLIV.)
- N. 29. Beardless youth in round cap, standing on a prostrate figure in a long gown who is clinging to his left ankle.—? *St. Wistan, M.*
- N. 31. Bearded youth in round cap, standing on a crouching man in loose gown and round cap.
- N. 12.* Bearded king, standing on a recumbent man in round cap and naked save for a pair of short drawers.
- N. 36. Bearded man in round cap and broad flat ring round neck, who once held a sword and a long cross or staff, standing on a squirming man in loose gown. (Plate XXX.)

Besides the nine undoubted martyr-kings, there are six other kings, four of whom (N.47, 51, 53, 55) do not carry sceptres, and may therefore perhaps represent those who resigned their kingdoms in order to adopt a religious life, like Ceadwalla of Wessex, Ethelred of Mercia, and Ceolwulf and Edbert of Berenicia.

* These are the work of the same carver.



N. 13.
ST. EDWARD.



N. 11.
ST. KENELM.



N. 36.





N.3
? ST. EDWIN.



N.17
ST. OSWALD.



N.15
? ST. OSWYN.

WELLS IMAGERY—MARTYR-KINGS FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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The royal princes and nobles among the saints are probably represented by the images wearing caps, of whom there are five (N.38, 43, 45, 59, 77), in addition to the three martyrs with caps (N.29, 31, 36) mentioned above. Each of the five appears to have held something, now decayed away, in the left hand. Two other figures (N.77 and N.14) are bareheaded, and the attitude of one of them (N.14) suggests his having carried a long cross or spear, and a book. A youth with his hair bound by a fillet and who held a sword (N.4) almost certainly represents St. Alban. (Plate XXIX.)

Of the warriors in armour N.22 may be St. George and N.18 St. Godric, the knight-hermit of Finchale, but the others cannot be identified; N.37 and N.39 form a pair, and N.60, 62, 64, 66 (Plate L.), a group of four.

It has been already suggested that the two standing bishops represent St. Thomas of Canterbury (N.24) and St. Elphege (N.32) and the priest (N.30) St. Amphibalus.

The figures of ladies, including two on the southern half of the front, are twenty in number, twelve of whom are queens. Nine of the queens and two uncrowned ladies occupy niches on the front; the rest are disposed upon the north and east sides of the north tower.

The fashions of the headgear, the dresses of some, and the manner in which the veils are worn, vary in an interesting way. Thus three of the eight uncrowned ladies have round caps, two have head and chin bands, two have head bands only, and one is simply veiled. Two of the queens also have head and chin bands.

The Queen of Sheba (N.1), St. Theopistis (N.78), two queens (N.49 and N.63), and the companion of one of these (N.65) have short veils hanging down on to the shoulders. The two queens (N.25 and N.27) with head and chin bands likewise have short veils; they also have long-sleeved dresses and hold books,* and probably represent abbesses. Two uncrowned ladies in the middle group (S.6 and N.2) are perhaps widows (Plate XXIX.); they have head and chin bands and long veils, and each wears beneath her mantle and over her long tight-sleeved gown a shorter and ungirded sleeveless^b dress. Three other images also have ungirded gowns:^c a very tall lady (N.46) with head band and long veil; another tall lady (N.54) with a long veil only on her head and about her neck, who also

* In N.27 the left hand, which doubtless held the book, has decayed away.

^b It is clearly sleeveless in S.6.

^c The image in the lower tier ascribed to St. Mary Magdalene (N.XXVIII.) represents her in ungirt gown and scapular, with head and chin bands, and a long veil thrown about her neck.

holds a book;^a and the figure of St. Theopistis (N.78), who has a round cap over her short veil. All the other ladies^b have girded gowns covering the feet, and long veils hanging down in front or thrown about the neck.^c

It is possible that the ladies with long veils represent such as had adopted a religious life, and it is interesting to note that almost all the famous English lady saints specially mentioned by William of Malmesbury had at some period of their lives "taken the veil," and not a few became in time abbesses of the monasteries they had entered.

From the great series of standing and sitting figures of those in the quirk, we pass to the examination of the figures and groups of figures above them, representing the Resurrection of the Dead.

These are contained in a continuous series of trefoiled niches carried all round the top of the imagery screen.

Of niches that were once filled with these sculptures there are thirty to the south of the middle line of the front, thirty to the north of the middle line, and twenty-five more round the north and east sides of the north tower, making a total of eighty-five. The niches on the fronts of the buttresses are of double width, as are two above the nave windows and the two on the inner sides of the nave buttresses.

Most of the niches contain single figures only, but any suggestion of monotonous symmetry is avoided by the frequent introduction of other figures, and the attitudes throughout are as varied as possible. The larger niches usually contain groups formed of several figures. (Plates XXXII., XXXIII.)

The figures are about half life size and are all shown as naked; most of them are meant for men, the comparatively few women being distinguished by their long hair and other differences. A few of the male figures have crowns or mitres on their heads to denote their rank when living, and here and there one who was in holy orders may be noticed by his shaven crown. The prominence given to one mitred figure on the northern buttress of the nave suggests the possibility of its representing Bishop Joscelyn, to whom the building of the front is ascribed.

The attitudes of the figures are very varied. The majority are rising from

^a This lady may represent St. Ethelburga of Barking, sister of St. Erkenwald, who is probably her episcopal companion figure (N.56).

^b Viz. N.48 and N.74, and the queens S.2, N.6, N.8, N.26, N.28, N.35, and N.44; also N.XXVI, N.XXVII, and N.XXIX of the lower tier.

^c The figures with the veil thrown round the neck are N.8, N.28, and N.44.



WELLS SCULPTURES—RESURRECTION GROUPS.

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their tombs, the coped lids of which they carry or thrust aside; while others are still asleep, and some appear to be awakening as if from a dream. There are no indications of a division into the good and the bad, but here and there one may be noticed whose conscience seems to be smiting him, and who therefore seeks to hide himself.

There is a peculiarity in the Resurrection groups, which is not to be met with elsewhere among the imagery of the front, in that each group has been marked with a number, those south of the middle line by Roman numerals, and those north of it by Arabic numerals.

Except on the end of the nave there was not any opportunity recently of examining the groups at close quarters, but the late Mr. J. T. Irvine, who was clerk of the works under Mr. E. B. Ferrey when the front was under repair thirty years ago, made careful notes and drawings of them, which he subsequently published in the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,* and they may be seen in some of Mr. Phillips's photographs. "Each group," writes Mr. Irvine, "no doubt, originally had a number, such number being invariably cut in the parts representing the earth, out of which the dead are emerging Many of the numbers had become lost, from the decay of the stone, but a considerable part of them still remain. In neither set had strict regularity of placing been kept. Some Arabic numerals were repeated, and, I think, also some Roman ones. One Roman numeral had wandered among the Arabic ones." Mr. Irvine's illustration shows the Arabic numerals on thirty-three groups, varying from 1 to 79. Upon which he remarks: "Why numbers so high should be found, when such a number of groups would have been greater than the number of niches on one-half of front, is singular."

Concerning these numbers several questions arise, and in particular, why were they used? and what is their date?

The groups on which they occur are probably of about the middle of the thirteenth century, but Arabic numerals are usually supposed not to have been introduced into this country before the middle of the fourteenth century, and they did not come into common use until much later.

Now during the third quarter of the fourteenth century the upper part of the south tower at Wells was begun to be built by Bishop John Harewell, who died in 1386; and in the second quarter of the fifteenth century the north tower was similarly raised through the bequest of Bishop Nicholas Bubwith, who died in

* Vol. xxxiv. part i. 62.

1424. Mr. E. S. Prior has suggested to me that to avoid risk of damage to the sculptures of the Resurrection group during these works they were numbered, taken down, and afterwards replaced. This would get over the difficulty (1) as to the numbering of the groups at all, and also (2) of the date of the numbers; for such of the numerals as are legible may well be of the dates in question. Whether Mr. Prior's suggestion be right or not, it is difficult to offer any other as reasonable.

There is one further point concerning the Resurrection groups, that no painting upon them seems to have been noticed. But Mr. Irvine states* that "during certain damp states of the atmosphere the tints of the back walls of their niches seemed to dimly suggest that they had been painted with a black or dark ground, powdered with flaming worlds and falling stars. It was, however, so shadowy a trace, that I could not be perfectly certain on the point."

Most of the groups are now badly weatherworn.

The lowest range of figures in the pediment above the Resurrection groups consists of nine Angels, representing the Heavenly Hierarchy, with others placed at right angles to them on the return faces of the flanking buttresses.

The angel on the north buttress has curly hair, and is vested in amice and albe. The right hand rests upon the hip, as if holding the girdle; the left is raised up to the chin as if it once held a trumpet which the angel was sounding, but no traces of this remain. The wings are somewhat plain, and are treated differently from those of the adjoining figures. The feet are almost covered by the albe. No traces of colour are visible.

The angel on the south buttress is vested like the other. He holds a trumpet, which his puffed-out cheeks show he is sounding. There are traces of red colour on the albe and wings.

The Angels representing the Heavenly Hierarchy are for the most part in a woful state of decay, and unless some means be taken to preserve them, such as a re-application of the coat of tinted limewash that originally covered them, several must inevitably perish altogether ere long. (Plate XXI.)

Reckoning from the north, they are as follows:

1. THRONE.—Covered with feathers, with bare feet. In the hands a throne. The feathers have been painted a brilliant red.

* *Ibid.* 62.

2. **CHERUB.**—In amice and albe and with curly hair. The hands are uplifted as if they held something, perhaps a crown, before the breast. The albe, wings, etc. have considerable remains of red colour over the original ochre wash.
3. **SERAPH.**—Covered with feathers, and with a second pair of wings crossed before the thighs. He stands in a mass of flames and holds before his breast a great bowl of fire. The whole figure has been coloured red.
4. **POWER.**—In cap with upturned brim decorated with roses, a loose tunic to below the knees, and legs cased in mail. The front is too decayed to show what the figure held. On the wings and tunic are considerable remains of red colouring.
5. **VIRTUE.**—Apparently a woman wrapped in a mantle which covers the feet, but the figure is badly decayed, especially in front and about the head. There is much red colouring on the wings.
6. **DOMINATION.**—A warrior in plate armour, with a helmet on his head, but woefully decayed. Carter shows him holding a spear (?).
7. **PRINCIPALITY.**—Covered with feathers, with a second pair of wings crossed over the lower part of the body, and with bare feet. The hands and face are decayed away. Carter shows him with outspread hands. Traces of red colouring remain on the wings and feathering.
8. **ARCHANGEL.**—Resembles the Principality, but apparently held a banner, the top of which is seen in front of the right shoulder.
9. **ANGEL.**—With close cap on head and clad in a long gown or tunic to the feet with a hood round the neck. He apparently holds an open book. There is much red colouring on the wings and other parts.

The considerable remains of colouring to be seen on all parts of the angels shows that the whole of them were coloured a rosy red from head to foot, laid over a ground wash of yellow ochre.

The representatives of the Heavenly Hierarchy, as has already been pointed out, are later in style than the great series of figures below them, and they probably date from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, when the south tower was raised to its present height.

What filled the niches before them, or whether the niches were filled at all previously, we cannot now tell.

The great images of the Twelve Apostles that fill the middlemost row of niches in the western pediment vary from 6 feet 4 inches to 6 feet 9 inches in height, and stand upon octagonal blocks 2 feet high. Most of them hold books, and originally each had also a distinguishing emblem, but these have in some cases decayed away or been so patched with cement as to be unrecognisable. The image of St. Andrew, who stands seventh in order, is slightly taller than the rest, a distinction due to his being the "head hallow" or patron saint of the cathedral church of Wells. (Plate XXI.)

The order of the Apostles is as follows :

1. ? Thomas.
2. ? Matthew. (Carter shows him holding a spear.)
3. Philip, with a pile of five loaves.
4. Paul, with sword and book.
5. James Major, as a palmer with staff and book.
6. John, with chalice.
7. Andrew, with his cross.
8. Peter (keys gone). (Carter shows him holding a key.)
9. Bartholomew, with knife, and his skin over his left arm.
10. James Minor, with club.
11. ? Simon.
12. ? Jude. (Carter shows him with a staff with pear-shaped top.)

Like the rest of the images those of the Apostles are carved in Doultong stone, and hollowed out at the back for lightness. The figures and their pedestals are severally worked out of two blocks, but the line of the joint varies, being in some cases on the top of the pedestal, in others a few inches above.

Mr. E. B. Ferrey, in a paper on the west front communicated to the Somersetshire Archaeological Society in 1873,* after describing the images of the Apostles, writes: "There are slight traces of colour upon all the figures, and in the protected parts of the robes the deep maroon tint is found. There are no remains whatever of gilding, but the bright colours of the stone, affected by the weather, give almost the brilliancy of gold." There must, however, be some mistake here, since the images certainly do not now display any traces of colour, and their

* *Proceedings*, xix. part i. 81.

surfaces are too weatherworn to retain any. But Mr. Ferrey's note would apply quite well to the row of angels beneath them, and as he says nothing about the obvious colouring upon these it is probable that he has confounded the two series. There is of course nothing against the Apostles having been originally tinted to harmonise with the other coloured images below.

The marked difference in character and treatment between the Apostles and the images covering the front shows that they are of considerably later date. They probably belong to the middle of the fifteenth century, when the north tower was raised to match the south tower.

It would be interesting to know whether the niches in which the Apostles now stand were previously filled with images.

The central recess of the uppermost division of the pediment (Plate XXI.) was fittingly filled with a figure of Our Lord in Majesty, seated on a throne, and judging the quick and dead. Unfortunately the upper half of the figure is lost. The feet are bare and show the sacred wound prints.

The flanking niches have both lost the figures they contained; their lowness and breadth suggest that the missing images were those of censing angels.* There is nothing to show whether the corner quatrefoils above ever held images or sculptures.

There can be very little doubt that the whole of the western front of the church, with the exception of course of the upper parts of the two towers, was built by Bishop Jocelin. It was apparently not begun until 1220,^b and the bishop himself describes his work as finished in the preamble of a charter of 17th October,

* Carter's etching, dated 1786, shows the existing state of things. King's engraving in the first edition of *Monasticon Anglicanum*, i. 186 (1655), shows the central figure as complete and two standing figures in the side niches; but it is not to be trusted as accurate.

^b For the reasons why the work could not have been begun before 1220, see Canon Church's paper on "Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, 1206-1242," in *Archaeologia*, li. 281-346. The beginning of the work in that year can also be fixed by the royal grant of sixty great oaks from the forest of Cheddar "for making a certain limekiln for the work of the church of Wells," a proceeding always indicative of some important undertaking. The text of the writ is as follows:—*De Mairemio dato.* Rex Petro de Maulay salutem. Mandamus vobis quod sine dilacione faciatis habere venerabili patri in Christo domino J. Batthoñ Episcopo sexaginta grossa roboria in boscis nostris de Ceddre ad rogam quendam faciendum ad operacionem ecclesie sue de Well ubi competencius capi possint ad minus detrimentum et vastum foreste nostre. Teste Huberto de Burgo Justiciario nostre apud Oxon. vij. die Augusti per eundem. [Close Roll, 4 Henry III. m. 6.]

1242, about a month before his death." It would be interesting to know whether the whole of the earlier images and sculptures of the front were in place by then. There is of course no direct evidence on this point, but certain cumulative facts point suggestively to it. In the first place it may safely be assumed that the scheme of the imagery was drawn up by whoever designed the front, and Bishop Joscelyn would hardly describe his work as finished if the niches were still awaiting the sculptures for which they were built. In the next place it is obvious that such heavy masses of carving could have been set in place only by the aid of a substantial scaffolding; and the images of the upper tier are for the most part carefully built up with rough masonry at the back, an operation which also needed scaffolding. Now we may be sure that the builders of the front in their natural desire to show their new work to the world would strike the scaffolding as soon as possible, and as it is hardly likely that they would do so knowing that it would shortly have to be re-erected, the scaffolding used for inserting the images was probably that first set up.

There is also a strong reason against the imagery and sculptures being later than Joscelyn's time.

Immediately after the bishop's death there arose a great dispute between the canons of Wells and the monks of Bath as to the mode of electing his successor, which was followed by an appeal to the Roman Curia. To meet the enormous expense of this litigation the Wells Chapter was compelled not only to spend all its available funds, but to incur debts amounting in all to 2,600 marks.^a To defray part of these the members of the Chapter agreed in November, 1245, to mortgage their own annual receipts year by year until the debt was paid, and in November, 1248, an assessment of one-fifth on all prebends for seven years was ordered to provide for "the intolerable debts of the church."^b Further, the fabric fund arising from the fruits accruing from all vacant benefices throughout the diocese, which had been granted to the Chapter at the beginning of his episcopate by Bishop Reginald, was given to the extent of two-thirds (saving to the archdeacon the other one-third), for his lifetime only, to Bishop Roger in May, 1246, in consideration of the debts of the bishop and bishopric.^c This grant lapsed on Bishop Roger's death in December, 1247, but was renewed in favour of

^a *Archæologia*, i. 334.

^b *Ibid.* lii. 95. Canon Church tells me that he thinks the amount of the debt must have been much more than 2,600 marks.

^c *Ibid.* lii. 101.

^d *Ibid.* i. 326, note 2.

his successor, Bishop William, in 1249, again in relief of the debts of the See,^a and was not restored to the Chapter^b until 1263.

Whatever money was available after Joscelin's death seems to have been spent, not on the images of the front, but on the endowments of chantries at various altars in the cathedral church.^c

When next there is record of any work upon the church, *i.e.* in 1286, the finishing of a *nova structura jamdiu incepta* was taken in hand, a building which it is agreed can be no other than the chapter-house.^d As to the nature of later works there is no dispute.

We are therefore driven back upon Joscelin's time for the date of the imagery and sculptures of his front.

As regards the images and sculptures themselves there do not seem to be any strong reasons against their being contemporary with the building. The carved blocks on which many of the figures stand, the trees and leafwork among the sculptures, and the occasional bunches of foliage associated with the images themselves, are all of a date *circa* 1225-40, and the whole of the details of the costume and armour are equally in accordance with the period suggested.^e As regards the armed figures there is a strong family likeness between them and the monumental effigy of William Longespée, Earl of Sarum, in the cathedral church of Salisbury. Earl William died in 1227, and the character of both tomb and effigy point to their erection soon after his death. The figure moreover is apparently of Douling stone, and there are two other effigies at Shepton Mallet, close to Wells, also of Douling stone, which are so like it, that all three must have come from the same workshop; this was no doubt at Douling itself, where we have good grounds for assuming the Wells images were also carved.^f

There seems also to be no inherent difficulty against so large a number of carvings being done within a short time. On comparing them by means of a series of photographs no marked differences of date can be detected, but it at once becomes evident that they are the work of many hands, working together or immediately after one another. The images of the upper tier in particular can be divided into at least fifteen groups, and the half-length figures of Angels are

^a *Archæologia*, liv. 6.

^b *Ibid.* liv. 12.

^c *Ibid.* liv. 13, note ^a.

^d *Ibid.* liv. 16.

^e Lord Dillon tells me he sees no difficulty in the armed figures being placed from their armour as early as 1230-1240.

^f There are several cogent reasons against the Wells imagery and sculptures having been carved on the spot.

certainly the work of several hands.* More than one carver has also been engaged upon the sculpture-groups, and upon the fine images of the lower tier. As the total number of carvings, large and small, including the Resurrection series, was but 340, the average per sculptor is not unduly great if spread over some twenty years.

Of the high quality and quiet dignity of the imagery they wrought it is hardly necessary to write, and there can be nothing but praise for the manner in which the sculptures and images are adapted to the building of which they form so prominent and beautiful a feature. As Flaxman justly writes: "Though this work is necessarily ill drawn and deficient in principle, and much of the sculpture is rude and severe, yet in parts there is a beautiful simplicity, an irresistible sentiment, and sometimes a grace, excelling more modern productions."^b

There remains finally the great question, what was the general idea that the builder of the west front of Wells had in his mind when he drew up the scheme for the imagery and sculptures?

No better answer can, I think, be given than that suggested by Canon Church, who shall do it in his own words, which he has kindly written down for me:

"We may be sure that the statues were not put up for mere decoration, that some plan and general design was laid out by a master mind on some principle of illustrating the history of the Bible and the Church, and teaching

* The images in the following groups seem to be the work of one and the same hand:

1. S.8; N.25, 27, 35, 49, 63, 65, 74, 76, 78.
2. S.2; N.2, 4, 6, 8, 26, 28.
3. N.5, 7, 11, 12, 13.
4. N.51, 53, 59, 61.
5. S.1; N.3, 29, 31, 36, 38.
6. N.15, 17, 21, 23, 55.
7. N.43, 45, 47, 75, 77.
8. N.18, 37, 39, 60, 62, 64, 66.
9. S.3, 7, 11, 13, and perhaps S.5, 21, 23, 30, 32.
10. S.29, 31.
11. S.15, 16, 18; N.30.
12. S.22, 36, 40; N.32.
13. S.12, 14, 17, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38.

Mr. E. S. Prior has arrived at much the same result, and he has also pointed out to me what a number of pairs and sets of four are by the same hand.

^b John Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture* (London, 1829), 16.

by signs and figures, *oculis subjecta fidelibus*, to the world outside, truths which were to be taught to each generation of hearers within the sanctuary.

Some help to the meaning and design therein may be suggested by a consideration of the surroundings of the church at the time when the west front and its imagery was being raised.

Bishop Joscelyn had died in November, 1242. By a Chapter Act of 9th July, 1243, it was ordered that the burial ground round the church now should be laid out and allotted to different sections of the community: the canons were to be buried in the cloister; the vicars in the south ground, east of the Lady Chapel *in clauistro*; and the ground before the west front within certain defined boundaries was to be the burial place of the lay people.

It is probable that Joscelyn, the finisher of the church of the thirteenth century, was the designer of the imagery of the west front, prepared and begun by him, and that he had arranged that as the west front looked down upon the public burial ground of his people, it should tell a tale and convey a lesson appropriate to those who entered in and passed out of the doors of the house coming to lay their dead in their last resting place under the shadow of the church.

And so gradually there rose up this great 'iconostasis' of sculptured imagery looking down upon 'God's acre,' the burial ground of the city, displaying before the eyes of priest and people in their last offices for the dead this commemoration of the faithful departed, the representation of the Church of the living God under its twofold aspect as (i) the Church militant here on earth, (ii) the Church of the Resurrection, the Court of Heaven.

Here in lower tiers are the figures of the divers orders of God's servants on earth standing each in their lot: kings and queens, bishops and priests, mailed warriors and veiled women, saints and martyrs, the known and the unknown, great and small.

Here again in one long line running from end to end in the middle tier are the figures of the servants of God rising from their graves bursting the bonds of death, rising again with their bodies, looking upward and preparing to stand before the court of heaven. There above in upper tiers are the Angels and the Twelve Apostles at the feet of the Son of Man, the Lord that sitteth upon the Throne of Judgment above all, high and lifted up.

This would be a solemn lesson, a fit 'sermon in stones' to set before the minds of the mourners as they lifted up their eyes and saw this wondrous record of man's genius and art, mysterious in its origin, surpassing in the dignity, grace, and simplicity of workmanship the contemporary sculpture of the Christian world."

Suggestions as to the Identifications of the Wells Sculptures and Imagery.
By W. R. LETHABY, Esq.

A GENERAL comparison of the sculptures at Wells with those at Exeter, both having a large number of statues grouped about a central Coronation of the Virgin, had made me desirous of seeing what indications for the attribution of definite meaning to the individual statues were to be found at Wells, when the possibility for doing so should arise. I shall at once set out some of the details observed, with only the one preliminary remark that the schemes of sculpture found on foreign cathedrals will prepare us to find saints instead of personages from English history or other secular sources.^a

St. Eustace.—On the east face of the north tower, high up (N.76), is a man bare-headed, fording a stream and carrying two children. (Plate XXVII.) This must be St. Eustace, who was a most popular saint in the thirteenth century. "The legend of St. Eustace," says M. Mâle, "was dear to mediæval artists. At Chartres two windows are devoted to his story, and there are others at Le Mans, Tours, and Auxerre." At Westminster Abbey, in 1252, Henry III. ordered a chapel to be made for St. Edward the Confessor's shrine in which the story of St. Eustace was to be painted and in the window the story of Solomon and Marculf. At Canterbury in the north aisle of the quire is a large painting of his ordeals, and one or two churches in England are dedicated in his honour. The statue at Wells has been called St. Christopher, but he was figured as aged and carrying one child, the Christ child. This other is a youthful figure, and the whole plot of his adventures depended on his carrying his two children over a river. It is probable that the woman's figure next to him (N.78) represents his wife, St. Theopistis. (Plate XXVII.) In the end they were all martyred together.^b

St. Thomas of Canterbury.—In the upper row, to the north of the middle line, is a tall and striking figure of a bishop (N.24), evidently a martyr, for he carries the crown of his head in his hands. (Plate XXVII.) At Rheims St. Nicaise is

^a See Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1898), 1902.

^b Amongst the MSS. at the British Museum is a life of Eustace beforetime called Placidus, who with his wife and sons obtained martyrs' crowns under Hadrian. Since writing the above I have seen the story of St. Eustace in a window at Sens where he appears exactly as at Wells in the subject where he and his children are ejected from the ship in which they were voyaging.

so represented in one of the large statues of the north-west door, but St. Nicaise was not well enough known for him to appear at Wells. The statue here might be the better known St. Denys, but it almost certainly represents St. Thomas of Canterbury, the most famous martyr-bishop of all, who, moreover, is commemorated in the Wells Calendar. I was in some doubt, however, as to the applicability of this manner of representation, until, on consulting Mr. Hope, he showed me a figure of St. Thomas from early glass in the north rose window at Lincoln delineated with the same action. It may be remembered that the reputed severed crown of St. Thomas's head was separately preserved at Canterbury in the round chapel of the Holy Trinity, now known as "Becket's Crown."

St. Oswald, K. and M.—Near St. Thomas, but nearer the middle, we come to a group of kings, each of whom stands on the prostrate figure of an enemy. Four of these (N.11, N.13, N.17, N.21) standing together may be identified. The evidence for identification is cumulative, and the results will not be doubted when we see how one leading idea governs all the four statues. N.17 is a king of mature age who tramples on a figure, of a man apparently. The king carries a shallow dish, the form of which suggests metal work. (Plate XXXI.) Even while looking at it the story of the king who broke up a silver dish and distributed its fragments to the poor suggested itself to me. Bede tells how, when St. Oswald was sitting at dinner with meat on a silver dish before him, a number of the poor begged alms, and he gave them both the meat and the dish. He was killed in battle by Penda, who was doubtless the enemy whom he tramples under foot.

St. Edward, K. and M.—N.11 and N.13, which stood side by side, are both very youthful figures. (Plate XXX.) Only N.13 bears an emblem; this is the stem of a cup, the upper part of which has been broken off. In searching for a young martyred king who held a cup, it was obvious that Edward son of Edgar, murdered by the queen, his step-mother, while drinking from the cup she had given him, would satisfy the conditions. This might be considered proved if the enemy beneath his feet were a queen. On going a second time to look I found that this was the case. The prostrate figure is particularly fine and in good condition, young, beautiful, and expressing rage.

St. Kenelm, K. and M.—N.11 is, as has been said, a boyish figure. There is no especial emblem, but he stands over the figure of a woman, who, as Mr. Hope discovered, bends low over an open book. (Plate XXX.) On turning to William of Malmesbury's account of the English royal martyrs I found the story of St. Kenelm, son of Kenulph, King of Mercia, who, when seven years old, was left in the charge of his sister Quendrida, who had him murdered. When, at the

time of his funeral, she was reading the Psalter "backwards for a charm" her eyes burst out and stained with blood the words, "This is the work of them that defame me to the Lord, who speak evil against my soul." The bloodstains, says William of Malmesbury, are still to be seen on the Psalter. This Psalter is evidently the open book in front of the prostrate figure.

These three kings are all commemorated in the Wells Calendar, as are also St. Edmund, K. and M., and St. Edward the Confessor.

St. Ethelbert, K. and M.—This statue, shown in Plate XLIV., most probably represents this King of Essex, who while at the court of King Offa of Mercia was killed at the instigation of Offa's wife, Queen Cynethryth.* She doubtless it is who is sculptured under the feet of the martyr. The cathedral church of Hereford, William of Malmesbury tells us, was dedicated in his honour.

We have now identified with certainty three English martyr-kings, and a fourth with a high degree of probability. If statues of these were placed here we can be assured that St. Edmund, the most famous of the king martyrs, whose story is carved on the north porch, was also represented by a statue.

There are nine kings in all who stand on prostrate figures and make up a group, all of whom, we may suppose, represented English martyr kings. Now if we turn to Father Richard Stanton's excellent *Menology of England and Wales*,^b we shall find a special list of "saints belonging to the reigning houses of the various kingdoms in England," in which exactly nine are designated *king martyrs*, namely: Oswald, 642; Edward, 978; Kenelm, 821; Ethelbert, 793; Edmund, 870; Edwin of York, 633; Oswyn, successor of Oswald, 651; Wistan, 850; Fremund, 866. About the last there is some doubt, but in the annals he is called king and martyr, and according to some of the legends he was the son of Offa. In 1212 "the miracles wrought at his intercession were so numerous, as to cause devotion to him to be spread far and wide." At Wimborne, Ethelred, King Alfred's elder brother, was at a later time regarded as a martyr, but his name does not appear in Calendars, and we may name the nine king martyrs as above.^c

* See Florence of Worcester, an. 793.

^b (London, 1892), Appendix III. p. 757.

^c The shrine of Edward the Confessor made for Henry III. had a group of images of kings set round it, probably English saints, with one possible exception. They are described as *St. Edmund*, four other *kings*, five golden angels, the Blessed Virgin and Child, a *king* holding a shrine [? Sebert or Henry III.], a *king* holding a cameo with two heads, St. Peter holding a church and trampling on Nero, and a *Majesty*. G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (2nd edition, Oxford and London, 1863), 134, 135. At Exeter Cathedral Church the lower row of figures is mostly of kings. I had thought that these were the ancestors of the Virgin, but the kings of Wells furnish other

Other Statues and Groups.—Only a few other figures possess characteristics which may prove sufficient for their identification. One of these is a bishop (S.5) on the south side, who holds what appears to be a church or shrine against his breast. (Plate XL.) This may possibly be St. Aldhelm. Another is a figure on the north front (N.45), who lifts his garment so as to expose a curious covering to his leg. (Plate XLVI.)

It is clear that the statues are in many instances arranged in groups of typical classes of saints, such as popes, bishops, hermits, abbesses, virgins, kings, queens, warriors, etc. The popes are distinguished by simple conical tiaras.* One of them (? N.42) is perhaps Calixtus, in whose name an altar in the church was dedicated. He and other popes are in the Calendar, as are also the four Doctors of the Church, who we might suppose are likely to have appeared among the statues, but it is difficult to assign any existing group to them.

The Old and New Laws.—The statues of the ground storey are divided from those above by the series of Bible subjects of the Old and the New Laws, and it seems highly probable that there may have been a relation between these reliefs and the statues which were once beneath them.

Most of this lower row of figures have been destroyed, including all those which occupied the chief position on either hand of the west door. Of the remaining ones only one (in a row of four women) has an emblem. This is a cylindrical box, and by first right the figure should be Mary Magdalene. Mr. Hope has made the suggestion that this very beautiful group of four women may be the witnesses of the Resurrection. (Plate XXIII.) A neighbouring set is of deacons, and Mr. Hope sees in these not the well-known deacon martyrs, but those mentioned in the Acts. He further suggests that the four prophet-like figures next to the women may be some of the first teachers of the Gospel. Such a disposition of figures would agree with the well-known statement of William of Worcester that the sculptures of the front treated of the Old and New Laws.^b If such was the

evidence, and it becomes more probable that the knight to the right of the door with the cross on his breast is S. George, and the opposite figure, an aged king, the other patron of England, Edward the Confessor. The king with the harp would be Alfred, who was commemorated at Winchester, and occasionally is styled saint.

* On the wonderful Ascoli cope lately exhibited at South Kensington there are figured several pope martyrs, all with the plain conical tiara which we find on the Wells popes.

^b In a Byzantine scheme I find there of the first Deacons, Stephen, Prochorus, and Nicanor; also three companions of St. Paul, Barnabas, Silas, and Timothy. About the great north doors of Westminster Abbey Church, begun 1245, there were fine statues of the twelve Apostles. At Salisbury one of the figures that can certainly be identified is John the Baptist.

scheme of the lower tier of statues, those to the south of the west door would have been patriarchs (such as are found at Chartres, Senlis, and Rheims) and prophets. It would thus follow that the two figures remaining on the extreme right would be prophets. These are too decayed to carry much evidence, but one of them has a veil over his head, the usual head-dress of prophets' statues. The other looks upwards, perhaps a suggestive attitude. We may, I think, fairly consider that the statues of the lower tier represented typical personages from the Old Testament on the south, and from the New Testament on the north. The Old Law and the New were frequently personified by two figures otherwise called the Church and the Synagogue, and there may have been such figures here on either side of the door. Before the date of the statues at Wells we find the Church and Synagogue represented on the Southrop font, and a similar pair were placed on a rood-beam at St. Albans. Two magnificent figures which still remain (headless) right and left of the south door at Lincoln represent, I believe, the same subjects.* A fourteenth-century figure of the Synagogue remains on the screen at Howden, and both the Church and the Synagogue flank the fourteenth-century chapter-room door at Rochester. An earlier example in painting was removed in the last century from the boarded "vault" of the chapter-house at York.

Passing from these conjectures, I come to the most important statues on the front, a pair (S.1 and N.1) standing on the window piers directly above the Coronation of the Virgin. (Plate XXXIV.)

King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.—These fine statues of a king and queen turn to each other and are evidently to be considered as related figures. They

* Figures of the Church and Synagogue are frequently found abroad; probably the finest pair is at Strasburg. As an instance of the treatment of the Old and New Laws in sculpture, I may point to the noble western portal of St. James of Compostella, dated 1188, of which there is a full-sized cast at South Kensington. Here there is a magnificent Majesty in the tympanum, and on the left the figures clustered about the jambs are prophets led by Moses. Street says that the first four figures are Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, and Jeremiah. On the opposite side, he says, are St. Paul and other New Testament saints whom he could not identify. They are, however, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James with his pilgrim's staff, St. John, etc. On the mid-post of the door below the Majesty is a second noble seated figure which Street mistakenly identified with St. James, and then criticised the arrangement on account of the equality of this figure with the triumphant Christ above it. This statue is evidently Christ on earth, dividing the teachers of the Old Law from those of the New. The Christ-type of face should be enough to show this, but we have St. James *certainly* as one of the group of Apostles, and the symbolism of the entire mid-post completes a positive proof. Below it is carved into a Jesse Tree ending above with the Virgin, while beneath the feet of Christ is figured the Trinity, pointing to the double origin. And finally the main capital above the "Saint's" head, as Street himself says, has carvings of the Temptation, and Angels ministering to Christ.





N.1



S.1

WELLS IMAGERY—THE QUEEN OF SHEBA AND KING SOLOMON.

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have been called King Ine and his Queen, but comparison with other similar pairs of figures which occupy prominent places in foreign iconographical schemes will show that they represent King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. M. Georges Durand, describing a pair at Amiens which strikingly resemble those at Wells, says, "The coming of the Queen of Sheba from Ethiopia prefigured the journey of the Magi, and she is at the same time the symbol of the Gentiles attracted to Christ, that is the Church; as says St. Augustine, she (the Church) is that Queen who comes from Ethiopia to hear the wisdom of Solomon."

As the identification of the two Wells figures depends on their likeness to the images of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba found abroad, it will be well for me here to describe some of them. The two statues at Amiens are at the south door of the great western portal. On the mid-post of the door are the Blessed Virgin and Child, and in the tympanum the Coronation of the Virgin. On the right jamb are large statues representing the Annunciation and Visitation, and on the left two other groups, the Coming of the Kings of the East to Christ, and of the Queen of the South to Solomon. (Plate XXXV.) Solomon turns toward his visitor with an expressive and natural gesture. He has "an inspired look, and seems to reply to some question; the index finger of his right hand is supported on his left." The queen has removed her crown, for there was no more spirit left in her, and with her other hand grasps the cord of her mantle, which falls straight from her shoulders behind; from her belt hangs a large purse. The attribution of these figures to Solomon and Saba is absolutely certain, for in the general scheme of the front there are small explanatory reliefs carved below each large statue. In one of the two quatrefoil panels beneath Solomon he appears seated on his lion throne, and the other is of his consecration of the Temple. Under Saba one relief is of Solomon at table, surrounded by servants, one of whom announces something to him, the arrival of the queen we may suppose; and the second panel shows the king and queen conversing, he pointing upwards and she listening with admiration. The meaning of the reliefs and the statues is so obvious that it has never, I believe, been forgotten; alike in early guide books and the latest monograph no doubt is expressed of the interpretation.

At Chartres the great triple northern porch of the cathedral church is called the Virgin's. At the central door we find Old Testament types on the jambs and the Coronation of the Virgin in the tympanum above. At the left door is the Annunciation, etc. and at the right door two of the figures are again Solomon and Saba. (Plate XXXV.) We should recognise them at once from their resemblance to the statues at Amiens, but their identity is again made sure by small sculptures

below. The Queen is vested in a long robe girt with a belt, and a mantle hangs from her shoulders. Under her feet is an Ethiopian carrying a vase filled with coins,* and a long bag of money, "presents from Ophir," says M. Émile Mâle. Under Solomon is a fool; "without doubt," says the Abbé Bulteau, "Marculph the buffoon." In the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba, in the *Life of Solomon* given in the *Golden Legend*, it is told how she brought "much riches, with camels charged with aromatics and gold infinite. She gave then to the king a hundred and twenty bezants of gold and many aromatics and gems precious." And he answered all the questions she asked. In this story we find all the meaning of the sculptures explained, the prefiguration of the Coming of the Kings of the East, Saba's riches, and the asking and answering of questions which is shown in the attitudes of the two statues. The cupful of coins probably represents the hundred and twenty bezants of the story.

At Rheims again there is a similar pair of statues, but this time placed in the most prominent positions of the whole front, on the faces of the two great buttresses flanking the central portal, over which is a fine relief of the Coronation. These superb figures, in many respects the finest of the whole series, are obviously designed with a full knowledge of the Amiens and Chartres examples, which they so closely resemble in persons, gestures, and dresses. The queen's mantle here is even more ample than in the others, and from her belt hangs her purse.

At Nôtre Dame, Paris, the jamb statues were destroyed at the Revolution; those replaced at the south-west door include Solomon and Saba; the old ones were figured by Montfaucon and were described by the Abbé Lebeuf, who identified those of the south-west door as St. Peter with his keys, and St. Paul; David, a king with a viol; and Solomon, Bathsheba, and Saba. These figures were older than any we have described, and belonged to the end of the twelfth century.

At Le Mans and Angers are groups of jamb statues even earlier. At the former, next to the door, are Peter and Paul, two kings, two queens, and four prophets. One of the kings is young, and certainly Solomon, for on his scroll may still be read [SA]LOM The other carried a square musical instrument or a book. At Angers there is a young king, and a David who carries a psaltery, and around whose nimbus are carved words from the first verse of the 50th Psalm. There are also, again, the two queens and some prophets, one of whom is Moses with the tablets of the Law.

* Sometimes said to be a vase of spices, but I have been able to examine it closely, and the cup is heaped up with coins.



THE QUEEN OF SHEBA AND KING SOLOMON.
FROM THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF AMIENS AND CHARTRES.

These examples lead back to the large number of figures which extend across the west front of Chartres, where many of the statues are almost replicas of those at Le Mans and Angers. David, Solomon, St. Paul, and Moses have been identified. In the earlier examples Solomon and the Queen of Sheba take their places in a series of typical Biblical characters, while in the later ones they are singled out from the rest, with symbolic intention.

There is in Italy at least one instance of the occurrence of this pair of statues. The other day I was looking over the photographic illustrations of Venturi's *Storia dell' Arte Italiana* when my attention was arrested by two well-known figures. Looking to the text it appeared that they were Solomon and Saba from the jamb of the south door of the Baptistry of Parma, the whole of the sculptures of which show the influence of French thirteenth-century work.

Now turning back to Wells, I shall at once call the central pair of figures Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. (Plate XXXIV.) The king, to the right, turns his face sharply over his shoulder towards the queen. He has a distinctive type like the similar figures at Amiens, Chartres, and Rheims, which perhaps arose from a wish to have him visibly prefigure Christ. His hands are brought near together in front; in the left he may have held some object, a scroll, or model of the Temple, and the right takes a gesture of exposition. The queen is young and beautiful, with flowing hair, and is vested in a long robe fastened at the throat with a jewelled brooch, and belted around the waist. From her shoulders hangs a mantle which, before it was partly broken away, formed quite a background to the figure. From her belt hangs not only a pouch but an ink-bottle and pen-case. She turns toward the king, and slightly bending her head seems to listen. Her left hand held at waist-height an open book or tablet. The right hand is lost, but the whole gesture suggests that she had taken her pen from its case and was writing down the marvels which he was expounding to her.

Virtues.—Around the soffit of the western door-arch, behind the outer order, is a series of ten small female figures, each standing under a little canopy, five on either side. At the top of each row against the apex of the arch is the demi-figure of an angel who holds a crown over the figures beneath. These figures are very simple and slender, and all are very much alike. They are, so far as I could discover, without any positive marks for their identification, except for the crowns above them, and that some carried books. They were painted with red robes and blue. I at first thought that they might be the ten Wise and Foolish Virgins, but the two sides are not in any way differentiated, and all express the utmost serenity. In the foreign examples of this subject, a sharp

distinction is always made between the two classes. At Rheims there is an open door above the Wise, and a closed door above the Foolish; at Amiens beneath the groups are a fruitful tree and a withered tree; and at Strasburg one set is led by Wisdom and the other by Folly. The Wells images are, I believe, Virtues, with especial reference to the virtues of the Virgin, whose statue occupies the tympanum of the door. Four other instances in England where Virtues are, or were, grouped about a doorway, may be pointed to in confirmation of this explanation. The first is the south porch of Malmesbury abbey church, where there are on each of the jambs four female figures armed with spears and trampling on prostrate enemies, the Vices. These, I suppose, were sculptured c. 1175.*

Around the arch of the chapter-house door at Salisbury are fourteen Virtues, crowned, armed, and trampling down Vices (date probably c. 1275). At Exeter three Virtues stand above one of the lesser west doors of the cathedral church, and there was a fourth, now lost; while on the jambs of the central door there are four other little crowned figures, now much abraded, making up, I think, the series of Virtues to eight (c. 1350). At the porch of the London Guildhall stood, as is well known, another set of the Virtues, who are named in a rhyme given by Stow, and drawings of which by John Carter have been preserved. The fact that the Virtues at Wells are not trampling upon Vices finds a parallel at Chartres, where, around one of the arches of the Virgin's Porch, is a set of Virtues, or rather Spiritual Beatitudes, each of which is only marked by an emblem. Moreover, in the foreign examples, the Virtues are associated with the Mother of Christ,^b while the Wise and Foolish Virgins belong properly to the Christ-cycle. And finally the crowns held above the Wells figures prove their identity.

General Scheme.—We have seen enough to indicate that the iconographical scheme was to bring together the nine orders of Angels described by Mr. Hope and a great assembly of Saints round about the central action, the Coronation of the Virgin. It is to be noted that all the statues we have been able to identify, except those in the lower row, are of martyrs, and all these are on the northern half of the front. On the southern side, again, there are no figures trampling on prostrate enemies, and every observer has noticed a predominance of kings on the

* The fonts of Southrop, c. 1190, and Stanton Fitzwarren also have sculptures of the Virtues; and Mr. Hope has reminded me of a fine series of seated Virtues trampling on Vices in the roundels of the pavement laid down before St. Thomas's shrine at Canterbury about 1220.

^b As to this see Mâle.

north side and of bishops to the south. Cockerell called them the temporal and spiritual sides. Except King Solomon and a seated king, and a queen and another lady, every remaining figure on the south side is of a bishop, monk, or hermit.

In an early Psalter of about 980 in the British Museum,^a "the Martyrs invoked end with the English saints Alban, Oswald, Kenelm, Edmund, and Ethelbert; the Confessors with Cuthbert, Guthlac, Wilfrid, John of Beverley, Ceadda, Erkenwald, Swithun, Berinus, Judoc, and Machu." Here we get just the same characteristics as on the two halves of the Wells front, and a further confirmation as to the group of King-Martyrs.

In the great triple south porch of Chartres the central recess is occupied by Apostles, the left-hand one by Martyrs, and the right-hand one by Confessors; and the division into Martyrs and Confessors would perfectly satisfy the data at Wells. In the *Golden Legend* the classification of Saints is thus explained: "It is to be noted that there be four differences of the Saints . . . Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins."^b

If we now work with the hypothesis that the images to the north are of Martyrs and Virgins, and those to the south are of Confessors, the field for choice is in some cases so limited that it becomes possible to offer a few further suggestions. Thus the three Bishop-Martyrs may most likely be the best known of the seven or eight which appear in the Wells Calendar, therefore Alphege, Archbishop and Martyr, Boniface, and Blase. Of the warriors who are in the Calendar, George, Theodore, and Maurice should be represented amongst the Knight-Martyrs. Decuman, a local Martyr, may be looked for on the same side; his name is in the Calendar. One of the Kings not accounted for may be St. Olaf. The single Queen on the side of the Confessor may be Ine's wife, Ethelburga. In that case it is just possible that the missing companion figure S.4 may have been King Ine himself.

Now if we turn to the account of the Death, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin given in the *Golden Legend* we shall find every point of the sculptured scheme at Wells suggested by the written story:

At the death of the Virgin all the Apostles were gathered about her, and at the third hour of the night Christ came with sweet melody, with the Orders of Angels, the Companies of the Patriarchs, the Assemblies of Martyrs, the Covenants of Confessors, the Carols of Virgins: and they were set in order and made sweet

^a Harl. MS. 2904.

^b In the early *Life of Edward the Confessor* (Rolls Series 3), edited by Mr. Luard, it is said that he built the abbey church with chapels for Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins.

song, and the Chanter of Chanters [Solomon] entuned above all others, saying, Come from Lebanon, my Spouse, come from Lebanon, come, thou shalt be crowned And the Angels were glad, the Archangels enjoyed, the Thrones sang, the Dominations made melody, the Principates harmonised, the Potestates harped, Cherubim and Seraphim sang praises, and brought her into the seat of the Sovereign Majesty. St. Jerome saith: "Who is sufficient to think how the glorious Queen of the World went up this day, and how the multitude of the Celestial Legions came with great talent of devotion, and with what songs she was brought into her seat. . . . It is on this day that the Chivalry of Heaven came hastily and environed her with great light and then enjoyed them the Celestial Company of Jerusalem, and made joy and song. . . . This feast is every year hallowed of us and continued to all other." The Order of the Apostles honour her, the Multitude of Martyrs beseech her, the Fellowship of Confessors continue their song to her, the White Company of Virgins make noble caroling.

We can see from this account, which I have condensed, that it is this ever renewed Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin which is celebrated by the sculptures of Wells.*

The general planning of the Wells front was, I have no doubt, the work of Bishop Joscelyn himself. It is the conclusion of M. Émile Mâle that in France the most learned theologian available drew up the didactic schemes for sculptured and painted imagery, and he has even shown how certain stained glass windows follow in their design the doctrinal sermons of Honorius of Autun or other scholars. The masons whose names Canon Church has found, Adam Lock and his son Thomas, from 1224 to 1234, and Master Noreys, from 1235 to 1249, were probably what we should call the architects of this wonderful storied wall.

The Bible-story reliefs are probably based on a series of miniatures in an MS. In a window of the Life of Christ at Laon I find the man laying down his garment at the Entry into Jerusalem so much like that of the Wells relief of this subject, that there is no doubt that they are both examples of a traditional treatment.



Part of the Entry into Jerusalem.
From painted glass at Laon.

* Bishop Joscelyn instituted a special service of the Virgin at Wells.

Colouring.—In the detailed examination that has been made of the front considerable evidence has been found as to its treatment in colour. The whole of the doorway, with its sculptures and mouldings, was painted and gilt. In the tier above several of the niches in which the statues stood showed evidence of having had a full red background. Nearly all the statues retain some part of at least the ground coat of colouring, especially on their heads, which have been protected by the niches, and in the folds of the drapery. This ground coat of ochre had been carried over the whole of the front, sculptures and plain surfaces alike. Many of the statues showed further traces of colour, red on the lips and black on the eyes and hair. Solomon's mantle was of red. The quatrefoils containing the Bible stories had coloured mouldings, and three or four of the subjects showed some colouring besides the ground tint. The panel of Christ teaching in the Temple retains some painted pattern-work clearly of the thirteenth century, and some fragments exhibited before the Society had traces of gold in lines around a sleeve and on a crown held by an angel. The panel containing the central group of the Coronation had some applied decoration, probably gilt stars, fixed to small plugs, the holes for which still remain. It is to the colouring of the front that we owe much of its preservation. Wherever there is a smooth surface at least the ground tint will be found remaining, and where that is gone the stone has begun to powder away.*

The front in its first freshness must have looked like a colossal ivory triptych, the general surface washed with yellow, and the mouldings and sculptures brightly coloured, and here and there touched with gold.

Foreign Parallels.—During the last twenty years French and German scholars have devoted much study to the history of medieval sculpture, some of them bringing to bear on the subject the minute analysis elaborated in the study of Greek Art. In a rapid review of the development of schemes of sculpture we may best start with the noble and well-known west portals of the cathedral church of Chartres. Besides the tympana and the arches of the three doors, their deep jambs are set around with tall figures, each one attached to a shaft and finely wrought in a transitional style between Romanesque and Gothic. The personages represented, including kings and queens, had been interpreted by reference to French history until the German Vöge argued that they came rather from the Bible. This great work is probably to be dated a little after the middle of the twelfth century. Sculptures of the same style, however, were set up at St. Denys c. 1140, and

* Sooner or later the question of preserving the statues from surface decay must be considered. It would, I believe, be desirable to cover them by degrees with distemper.

there are at least a dozen other doorways which followed the same type. Those we have mentioned at Angers and Le Mans should be dated about 1160-70. Some of these doors have only a pair of figures on either hand, generally a king and queen. The west door at Rochester belongs to this type, and it is a certain offshoot of the Chartres school, reaching us probably by way of Le Mans or Angers, with both of which our relations were so intimate in the latter half of the twelfth century. The sculptures of Rochester are, I believe, the first examples of this sort of statuary in England, and the king and queen, instead of being named Henry I. and Matilda, should be called Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. (Plate XXXVI.) The resemblance of the sculptured tympanum, with its central Majesty surrounded by the four symbolic Beasts, together with the twelve Apostles on the lintel below, to French prototypes cannot be questioned. At Bourges, on the north porch, there is also a pair of figures which is very similar, and at St. Denys is a still more beautiful pair removed from Corbeil. (Plate XXXVII.)

A steady progression may be traced in France from the Chartres façade to the façades of Amiens and Rheims. A fine door at Provins closely resembles the Angers door, but is probably a little later, say 1190. The west door at Senlis is still more developed, and here, probably for the first time, the Coronation of the Virgin appears in the tympanum as the central group. The great triple west porch of Laon was probably in hand before the end of the twelfth century. Its sculptures were destroyed at the Revolution, but the three tympana are magnificent, and set the tradition for a generation. That of the centre door bears the Coronation of the Virgin.

The portals of Notre Dame, Paris, other than the south-west door before referred to, appear to have been begun some time between 1208 and 1220. All the original parts that remain show great nobility of style, while the figures stood in niches instead of being attached to columns. Amiens west front was begun in 1220, and the most recent authority shows that the statues are involved with the early part of the construction, and that they cannot be put later than c. 1225. Exclusive of the sculptures on the middle posts of the three doors, there are fifty-two heroic-sized statues in one row across the front, filling the slanting sides of the porches, and the faces of the buttress masses between them.

The date of the wonderful assemblage of sculptures at the north and south transepts of Chartres is not certainly known. The general scheme follows Laon, but the porches themselves seem to have been executed later than the doors which they shelter. These doors and their sculptures are, I believe, earlier than the Amiens sculptures. Amiens followed Paris; and Rheims, which is certainly later



KING SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA, FROM ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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THE QUEEN OF SHEBA AND KING SOLOMON, FROM THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF CORBEIL,
NOW AT SAINT-DENYS.

than any yet spoken of, followed the type of Amiens; whereas Chartres has affinities with Laon. At Rheims, which is the culmination of the whole series, the Coronation of the Virgin is the central group on the pediment above the central porch. The façade of Rheims was probably begun about 1250.

The Wells scheme was, I believe, made with the knowledge of both the Amiens and Chartres sculptures, and there are several points in which it resembles Rheims. It is, however, a new departure in that it spreads one great sculptural drama over the entire front. The beauty of it stands beyond the need of praise.

The Society is much indebted to M. le Comte de Lasteyrie for the loan of the block of the Corbeil figures^a in Plate XXXVII., and to Mr. Arthur Gardner for the loan of the negatives of Plates XX. and XXXV.; also to Mr. T. W. Phillips of Wells for lending the negatives of Plates XXI., XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXVII., XXXII., XXXIII., XXXVIII., XLIV., XLVI., and L., and of the figures S.6, and N.15, 17, 22, 36, 51, 54, 56, 57, 75, 77, and N.a; also to Messrs. Dawkes and Partridge of Wells for lending the negatives of Plates XXV., XXXIV., XXXIX.—XLIII., and XLVII., of the figures N.2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 25, 26, 53, 55, and 74, and of the sculptures N.k, N.l.

The two figures on Plate XXXVI. are from T. and G. Hollis's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

^a From M. de Lasteyrie's *Etudes sur la Sculpture Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1902), forming vol. viii. of "Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot)."

APPENDIX.

I.—IMAGES OF THE LOWER TIER.

S.I.-S.XXI.—*All these images are lost.*

From the small size of Niche I. it is doubtful if it ever had an image. The remaining niches have pedestals for the lost images.

S.XXII.—A much decayed male figure, bareheaded and with long wavy hair, in tunic, supertunic, and mantle. The hands apparently held something in front of the body, but owing to the bad condition of the figure it is difficult to say what.

S.XXIII.—Man bareheaded and with long wavy hair and slight beard, with head turned towards right, in girded tunic and mantle. One side of the mantle hangs over the left shoulder, but the other side is brought round under the right arm and upheld by the left hand. The right hand seems to have held a book (?). The lower part of this image is badly decayed.

N.I.-N.XX.—*All these images are lost.*

From the small size of Niche I. it is doubtful if it ever held an image; the remainder of the niches have pedestals for the lost figures, and in many traces of the iron holdfasts are left.

N.XXI.—Man with long wavy hair, in long gown to feet, girt with a strap, and mantle over the shoulders and gathered over each forearm. The right hand has perished but seems to have been laid on the breast. In the left hand is a closed book.

The upper part of this fine figure is badly decayed and the features are almost gone.

N.XXII.—Man with long hair and short beard, in long girded gown and mantle. The left hand seems to have held some object, such as a book, but the front of the figure is badly decayed.

N.XXIII.—*Lost.*

N.XXIV.—Man with wavy hair and beard and pointed cap, in long girded gown and mantle. The surface of the upper half of the body is badly decayed, but the hands seem to have held some such object as a book in a sudary which hangs down from the right arm.



N.XXXI.

N.XXX.

WELLS IMAGERY—TWO PREACHERS FROM THE LOWER TIER.

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- N.XXV.—Man with short beard and long wavy hair, in girded gown, and a mantle hanging over the right shoulder and forearm. The left hand is raised and covered by a sudary, which passes over to and hangs down from the right hand. This was also covered, and is uplifted to hold a book (?), now nearly decayed away.
- N.XXVI.—Young lady with long hair covered by a veil, long gown, and circular cloak. The veil hangs down in front, and is thrown over the right arm. The cloak envelopes the figure, but is gathered over both arms, which were raised in front of the body. Whatever was held in the hands has decayed away with them. This image is 5 feet 9 inches high and only 8 inches thick. (Plate XXIII.)
- N.XXVII.—Lady with long hair in girded gown and mantle. On her head is a cap or head-band, over the rear half of which is a long veil hanging down in front below the waist. The hands were uplifted as if holding something, but have been broken off a little below the elbow. The face has lately been damaged. (Plate XXIII.)
- N.XXVIII.—ST. MARY MAGDALENE. Tall lady in tight-sleeved under-dress, wrapped over the feet, loose sleeveless gown to the ankles, scapular (?) and mantle. She also wears a chin-band, head-band, and ample veil, which is thrown round the neck. The mantle is so hung as to leave the right arm free, but covers the left shoulder and is thrown over the left arm. The end of the scapular is held by the left hand, which also supports a plain cylindrical object, held steady by the right hand. A fine and dignified figure 6 feet 1½ inch high. (Plate XXIII.)
- N.XXIX.—Lady in long girded gown, mantle, and veil, which covers the head and hangs down to the waist. The head is encircled by a simple cord or band over the veil. The left hand hangs down and grasps the pendent end of the girdle-strap and front fold of the dress. The right hand was upraised and held some object, now broken away, before the breast. Only 9 inches thick. (Plate XXIII.)
- N.XXX.—Man with short beard and long wavy hair, in long robe to feet, slightly slit at neck, and showing there an underdress. He also wears a long veil or mantle placed over the head and hanging down over the shoulders, and grasped in front by the two hands, which also hold a closed book towards the left side. (Plate XXXVIII.)
- N.XXXI.—Man with short beard and long wavy hair, in long loose robe to feet, and mantle covering both shoulders. The right hand is also covered by the mantle, which is gathered up by and hangs down from the upraised left arm. The left hand is broken off. (Plate XXXVIII.)
- N.XXXII.—Man with slight beard and long wavy hair, in long robe to feet and shorter loose robe over it, and mantle hanging over left shoulder and gathered over the left arm. The hands probably held a book, but are broken away.
- The part of this figure which shows the lower robe and the feet is worked out of a second piece of stone.

- N.XXXIII.—Man with slight beard, and long wavy hair bound by a fillet, in long robe to feet, girt by strap, and mantle over shoulders. Right arm broken off at elbow. In the left hand, which is covered with the mantle, he holds an open book,^a which was also held by the right hand.
- N.XXXIV.—Deacon^b in cassock, amice, albe, and tunicle. The right hand was upraised, but is broken away. The left hand is also upraised, and holds a half-opened book with a register or marker with long pendent ends.
- N.XXXV.—Deacon in cassock, amice, albe, and tunicle. The right arm hangs down at the side. The left arm, which was partly raised, is broken away at the elbow.
- N.XXXVI.—Deacon in cassock, amice, albe girded with a rope girdle, and with fanon hanging from left arm. Over the left shoulder and crossing the body to the right side, where it passes under the girdle, is a folded or rolled-up chasuble. In the hands is an open book, held as if to be read from, with a projecting register at top.
- N.XXXVII.—*Lost*. The pedestal and holes for the iron fastenings remain.
- N.XXXVIII.—Deacon in amice, albe with tight sleeves girded with rope girdle, stole over left shoulder crossing over to right side and passing under girdle, and with the fanon hung from the girdle on the left side. The right hand is broken off. In the left hand is a closed book.
- N.XXXIX.—Deacon in long surplice to feet, with stole over left shoulder crossing the body to the right side, and fanon hanging from left arm. The right hand is broken away. The left hand holds down the front of the head opening of the surplice, so showing an under vestment, the tight sleeve of which is also visible on the left forearm.
- N.XL. and N.XLI.—There do not seem at any time to have been images in these two niches.

II.—ANGELS ISSUING FROM CLOUDS.

S.A.-S.C.—*These three figures are lost.*

S.D.—Angel with jewelled nimbus, in girded tunic with jewelled collar, and mantle hanging over left shoulder and left arm. The left hand is upraised and holds a scroll which crosses the body diagonally to the other hand. The wings are perfect, but the face has decayed away. (Plate XXIV.)

This figure is carved in clunch or hard chalk.

^a There are no traces of letters on the book.

^b For illustrations and full descriptions of this and the four other Deacons, see *Archaeologia*, iv. 84—86 and Plates IX.—XI. The figure N.XXXVI. seems to be the only medieval representation of the folded chasuble, which was worn at mass instead of the tunicle during Advent and from Septuagesima to Easter.

S.E.—Angel, now headless, clad in tunic and mantle. The hands held up a sudary, and in the right a crown; the left hand is broken away, and the right wing is broken.

Carved in white stone.

S.F.—Angel in loose tunic or ungirded albe. On each of the outstretched hands, which are covered by a sudary passed behind the body, is a crown of four fleurons.

This figure is complete except as to the left wing and the fleurons of the crown, and bears abundant traces of the yellow ochre wash. (Plate XXIV.)

S.G.—Angel in girded tunic, with curious wing-like appendages before the shoulders. The nimbus is jewelled. The left hand is covered by a sudary hanging over the left shoulder and brought round under the right arm, and holds a crown. The right hand seems to have held a palm branch. The right wing is mutilated. (Plate XXIV.)

Carved in chalk or other white stone.

S.H.—Angel in loose albe and amice. A sudary hangs over the left shoulder and passes over the left hand, which holds a mitre. The right hand was upraised but is injured.

This is a beautiful figure, and shows abundant traces of the yellow ochre wash.

S.I.—Angel in ungirt tunic, with a sudary hanging over both shoulders and passing over the outstretched hands. In the left hand is a crown, but another which was also held by the right hand is broken away. (Plate XXIV.)

S.J.—Angel in girded albe and cope with jewelled morse. The left hand upholds a closed book, the right one side of the cope. The top of the right wing is broken away.

A somewhat curious little figure.

S.K.—*Lost.*

N.A.-N.D. —*These four angels are missing.*

N.E.—Angel in albe and cope, with the latter gathered like a sudary over the hands, but both hands are broken away.

This figure has much of the strong ochre colouring.

N.F.—Angel (head lost) in ungirded albe. The outstretched hands, now gone, held a sudary, which passes round the body, and is crossed in front of it. Both wings are broken.

N.G.—Only a fragment of this figure is left.

N.H.—Angel in tunic and mantle. The latter has the opening on the right shoulder, where it is laced across, and is thrown over the arms so as to leave the hands free. The left hand holds a labelled mitre. The right hand is gone, otherwise the figure is quite perfect.

N.I.—Angel in loose tunic, with veil hanging over the left shoulder and passing across the body and under the right arm. The hands are broken away, and the figure is much decayed.

N.J.—Angel with veil over the left shoulder, holding in the left hand a veiled crown and in the right a closed book.

This figure is much decayed.

N.K.—Angel in girded albe, with a sudary round the neck, crossed in front of the body, and then passing over the hands. In the right hand is a mitre; the left is gone.

This figure is somewhat decayed.

N.L.—Angel with outstretched hands, holding a mitre (broken) in the right and a crown (also broken) in the left.

This figure is much decayed, and both wings are broken.

N.M.—Angel in ungirded albe, with a crown (broken) in the left hand; the right is gone.

N.N.—Angel in girded albe, with veil over left shoulder and right hand. The hands are both broken away.

N.O.—Angel in loose albe, holding up a sudary from hand to hand. In the right is a crown; the left is broken away. Both wings are perfect.

N.P.—Angel in girded albe and cope with morse. In the outstretched left hand is a mitre; the right is broken away.

N.Q.—Angel in ungirded albe, with outstretched hands now broken away. Part of a scroll which they held remains. The right wing is lost.

N.R.—Angel in ungirded albe and mantle, holding up a sudary from hand to hand. In the left hand is a mitre; the right hand is broken.

N.S.—Angel in girded albe, with loose robe cast about the shoulders. The wings are broken and likewise the uplifted hands.

N.T.—*No figure.*

III.—SCULPTURE GROUPS OF THE LOWER TIER.

S.a.—*Lost.* The missing figure may have been Moses with the tables of the Law.

S.b.—THE CREATION OF ADAM.

Adam is shown on the right, naked and with long wavy hair, reclining on the lumpy ground out of which he has been made. Before him on the left, also on the ground, stands the Creator, as a tall nimbed figure with long wavy hair, short beard, and bare feet, clad in a long tunic girded with a cord, and a mantle hanging from the shoulders. The arms, which were stretched out towards Adam, are broken away.

S.c.—THE CREATION OF EVE.

On the right is Adam, naked, and reclining on the ground in a deep sleep, with his head resting on his hand. On the left stands the Creator (vested as in S.b. but now headless). The arms are broken away, but seem to have been extended towards Eve and lifting her out of Adam's side. The figure of Eve has also lost the arms.

S.d.—THE PROHIBITION OF THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE.

Adam and Eve as two shrinking figures are being led of God into the Garden of Eden. God, a stately nimbed figure in girded tunic and mantle, has his left arm round the newly created beings, and his right hand resting upon a tree behind him. Another tree grows behind the figure of Eve.

S.e.—THE FALL.

Adam, who is eating the apple, and Eve standing together, holding leaves over themselves to cover their shame. On either side is a tree, and behind the figures is a third and larger one, at the top of which may be seen the Serpent biting off another apple.

S.f.—THE DETECTION OF ADAM AND EVE.

On the left, Adam with Eve on his right, seated on the ground and holding leaves over themselves to cover their nakedness. On Adam's left is part of a tree, behind which (on the right) stands the figure of God, with his right hand on the tree and a closed book in the left. All three figures are headless, and the group is otherwise much mutilated. The figures seem to have been sheltered by two trees, one on either side.

S.g.—Only a fragment of this sculpture is left, showing part of the trunk of a large tree on the right. It probably represented *THE EXPULSION FROM PARADISE*.

S.h.—ADAM DELVING AND EVE SPINNING.

On two stones :

(A) On right : Adam, bareheaded and barefooted, stripped to the waist and wearing short breeches rolled up to the knee, and there tied by points. He is shown vigorously thrusting his spade into the ground, which is hummocky and with remains of trees. From beneath his spade wells out a stream of water. His arms and spade-handle, and the trees, are broken away.

(B) On left : Eve seated on the ground, with unbound hair, and clad in a long shift with short sleeves. Between her knees is her distaff, fixed in the ground, and surmounted by a mass of wool or flax, which she holds with her left hand. The right hand is extended behind her as if twisting the thread, and from her fingers hangs her spindle. (Plate XXV.)

Except for a small part of the distaff, the figure of Eve spinning is singularly perfect. Behind the distaff are traces of the red background of the niche.

S.i.—? THE SACRIFICE OF CAIN.

To left, a boy (?) sitting behind two sheaves of corn lying on the ground. In the middle a man walking towards the left and carrying a sheaf of corn. To right a man reaping corn.

This sculpture is somewhat weathered.

S.j.—*Lost*. [Probably THE SACRIFICE AND DEATH OF ABEL.]

S.k.—THE SHOOTING OF CAIN BY LAMECH. (Plate XXV.)

On two stones:

(A) On left: a determined looking man in round cap, girded tunic, and mantle fastened upon the right shoulder, shooting an arrow from a bow. The bow and both hands are broken away.

(B) On right: a bareheaded and apparently dying man in girded tunic sitting on the ground amidst a number of bushes. With his right hand he supports himself from falling; his left is outspread upon his breast. Above his head is the figure of a small boy.

S.l.—NOAH BUILDING THE ARK. (Plate XXV.)

In front, Noah, in hood tied under chin and short girded tunic to knees, working with an axe at a piece of wood supported on two four-legged stools. On the ground lies a differently shaped axe and a hammer. In background an unfinished clinker-built boat and two trees. Slightly mutilated.

S.m.—THE ARK UPON THE WATERS.

The Ark is represented as a boat with upturned ends, floating on the waters, with a four-sided truncated conical structure arising from it. The latter is divided into three stages with wide openings; out of the two lowest a pig, a goat, horses, and sheep, etc. thrust their heads, and from the topmost peer men and birds. The animals in the lowest stage are feeding from cribs. On the extreme left is a dead man floating on the water, with a raven preying upon him.

The front of the Ark, which seems to have contained a group of some kind, is much weathered.

S.n.—? GOD'S COVENANT WITH NOAH.

In front, a stately standing figure, now headless and otherwise mutilated, in girded tunic and mantle. The ground behind on the right is rugged. Some object or figure on the left has decayed nearly away.

S.o.—A much weathered group, with a man, apparently in mantle and hood, standing close beside and facing a woman (?) in long girded gown.

S.p.—A man in round cap and a tunic lying asleep on the ground with his head on his hand and a mantle cast over his legs. In front and below is a boy (?) with a cap tied on his head sitting on the ground, and behind the sleeping man is another in girded tunic who is bending over him. The head and arms of this last figure are broken away.

S.q.—? THE BLESSING OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH BY JACOB.

A bearded man being held up on a bed in a sitting posture by a man who stands behind. Two other people, now much broken, stood behind the foot of the bed, and another was seated at its head.

Much weather worn and mutilated.

S.r.—*No Sculpture.*

N.a.—ST. JOHN EVANGELIST, nimbed and winged,* and clad in a long tunic and mantle, sitting on a bench, with his head turned in the direction of his outstretched right arm. The left hand rested on the book of his Gospel, which is supported on the outspread wings of an eagle. Both hands are broken away. The feet are bare and rest on leafwork. The eagle is perched upon a curled leaf growing out of one end of the bench. There are traces of red colouring on the mantle. (Plate XXVI)

N.b.—*Lost.* [Probably THE ANNUNCIATION.]

A base block remains.

N.c.—*Lost.* [Probably THE VISITATION.]

N.d.—THE NATIVITY.

A badly mutilated group, showing Our Lady in bed suckling the newly born Child, and the ox and the ass behind. On the right is a seated but headless figure, and another headless figure stands behind the bedhead.

N.e.—*Lost.* [Probably THE CIRCUMCISION.]

N.f.—*Lost.* [Probably THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.]

N.g.—*Lost.* [Probably THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.]

N.h.—*Lost.* [Probably THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.]

N.i.—*Lost.* [Probably THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.]

N.j.—? THE RETURN FROM EGYPT.

Headless figure of a man in gown and mantle in front of a mass of rock.

In front, on a loose piece, a seated figure of a man, headless and much injured.

N.k.—CHRIST DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS. (Plate XXVI.)

On two stones:

Left: Christ as a small child seated on a tall desk with clustered pillar with carved capital. Behind and partly shielding him with her mantle stands the tall (headless) figure of Our Lady, and behind her also stands Joseph, as an old man, bearded and wearing a round cap. On the left is a man in girded tunic, mantle, and round cap, sitting on a cushioned seat.

Right: Two Doctors sitting on a bench in front of a wall with coved cornice. The one to left wears a cloak clasped by a round brooch on the left shoulder, and a pointed

* The left wing is lost.

cap, and holds in his right hand an open book. The second has one foot resting on the knee of the other leg and wears a round cap. Above the cornice are three other men: one is headless, the second wears a pointed cap, the third was bareheaded. On the right, seated on the ground, is another Doctor in tunic, short mantle, and drawn poke hood. The wall behind the two figures is masoned in red and the cove decorated with black scroll work, all on the ochre ground.

N.i.—THE CALLING OF JOHN BAPTIST. (Plate XXVI.)

On the right John Baptist in camel skins sitting on the ground in the desert. Behind him is the stump of a tree, and on left a small tree and stump of another. The saint's head is broken away. In front is an angel appearing to him out of a large cloud.

N.m.—THE PREACHING OF JOHN BAPTIST.

On two stones:

Left: John Baptist standing, with a man behind him.

Right: A group of eight men listening to John's preaching. (Plate XXXIX.)

N.n.—*Lost*. [Probably THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.]

N.o.—*Lost*. [Probably THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.]

N.p.—CHRIST IN THE SYNAGOGUE AT NAZARETH. (Plate XXXIX.)

Christ sitting on the right and expounding the Law from a scroll (broken) which he holds across his knees. Before him a seated group of ten men listening to his words.

N.q.—CHRIST IN SIMON'S HOUSE.

Four men sitting on a bench behind a table, on one end of which is an ewer covered with a cloth. The first three figures (from left) are headless, and all have lost their arms. The third was Christ, who is shown as of larger stature than the others. In front, but much decayed, is a kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene.

N.r.—A group of twelve or thirteen persons, for the most part seated, but much decayed in front.

N.s.—Christ seated on the right and in front of a group of nine other persons. The fore part is somewhat decayed.

N.t.—THE TRANSFIGURATION. (Plate XXXIX.)

A beautiful group, with Christ nimbed and standing between Moses and Elias (both headless), beyond each of whom is a tree (that on right broken). In front on the ground are three prostrate figures of Peter, James, and John.

N.u.—THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

On two stones:

Left: Headless and broken figure of Christ riding to the right upon an ass (also broken). Behind walks a small man with uplifted hands. Behind the ass's head stands a tall (headless) figure with a garment in his hand.

Right: A castellated trefoiled archway with attached gatehouse. Within the arch



N.v



N.t



N.p



N.m (right half).

stands a man holding a branch, and in front of him another (headless) casting down his garment. On top of the arch are two other figures, and on the adjoining wall is a man with a garment and another with a branch (both mutilated). Three other folk look out of the windows.

N.v.—JUDAS COVENANTING FOR THE THIRTY PIECES. (Plate XXXIX.)

An interesting group of figures. On the right (headless) is Judas, and behind him is a small devil (headless) holding his mantle. Two other figures were apparently chief priests: one has a horned mitre, the other is headless. The hands of all three figures are broken away. On the left, under an arch, is a small figure (mutilated) taking the thirty pieces out of a chest.

N.w.—THE LAST SUPPER.

On two stones :

Right: Our Lord and four apostles seated behind a table. Our Lord is clad in a girded tunic and mantle and has long flowing hair. His right hand rests on the table, but the left upon St. John, who is on his left, and reclining against and in front of him. He is shown as a youthful man in girded tunic and mantle, with his right elbow on the table and supporting his head on his right hand. The other figures are now headless. One is behind St. John. The next has his left hand on the table, and with his right is holding up something (now broken) before his breast. The last or end figure has the left hand stretched out on the table, and holds a short roll in the right. On the table are loaves, dishes, etc. The table itself is bracketed out from the bench behind, and has no front legs. The feet of four of the figures are seen underneath. On a pedestal below are a large flask and a basket full of meats.

Left: Another table, behind which are seated three Apostles. The end one on extreme left has long hair and a short beard, and wears a girded tunic and mantle; his right hand rests on the table, but the left is gone. The next man is headless, but also had long hair; he is shown with his hands on the table breaking a loaf in two. The third figure is also headless; he is clad in girded tunic and mantle, and seems to have had his hands upraised towards his mouth, but they are now broken away. On the table, which is covered with a cloth falling in folds, are dishes, loaves, etc. and beneath it are seen the bare feet of the Apostles.

Carved out of the same block there is at the right end a figure with his back to the others, kneeling on his right knee upon the floor level. He has a girded tunic and mantle, long hair, and short beard. His left hand rests on the left knee, and the right is upraised and held over the mouth. From his position between the two tables and his bending the knee before Our Lord, this figure probably represents Judas receiving the sop.

N.x.—Lost. [Probably THE BETRAYAL.]

N.y.—CHRIST BEFORE THE SANHEDRIM.

A group of many figures, of which the most prominent is a tall man in robe and

mantle with long flowing hair seated on a throne or seat in the midst. The arms are broken away and also the left foot. On the right hand of this figure and rather behind him is a tall bearded man wearing a tall cap, and beyond him, but in front, two figures (headless) in long tunics and mantles. Behind the central figure is a group of four men, and on his left another group with a man in a pointed cap, preceded by three or four men and pushing in front of him Our Lord, who is shown naked to the waist and with bare legs. On the pedestal of the group is a small seated figure, much injured.

N.z.—CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.

On two stones :

Right : Two men, one in gown and long sleeved tunic, standing up (upper part broken away), the other, in gown and mantle sitting on a seat with his hands joined in his lap (head gone).

Left : Christ, as a gigantic figure with long hair and short beard, with shirt or tunic rolled round the waist so as to leave the body bare, and with bare legs, being led away by a man in girded tunic, who holds him by the waist-band. The figure of Our Lord has lost the left arm and leg, but has the right upraised. The smaller figure has lost the head and right arm.

N.aa.—Small group of three men in girt tunics and tight hose, walking to left. The last man has his right hand on the shoulder of the man in front of him, but all have lost their heads and are otherwise much damaged.

N.bb.—CHRIST BEARING HIS CROSS.

Christ as a gigantic figure, naked save short breeches and shirt rolled round waist, being led along by a man in tight hose and short girded tunic with a staff (?) in his right hand, while with his left he holds Our Lord's waist-band. The figure of Christ has lost the left leg and the arms, as well as the Cross, and the leader has lost his head. Behind Our Lord are two other figures, both in short tunics and tight hose ; the one holds Our Lord by the waist-band, but has lost the head and left arm and right leg ; the other has his back to the spectator and has a coif on his head.

Carved on a block shaped to fit the angle.

N.cc.—*Lost.* [Probably THE CRUCIFIXION.]

N.dd.—THE RESURRECTION.

Christ shown partly draped and stepping out of the sepulchre, in which also stand two angels with outspread wings, one on either side. All three figures are now headless. Below are the figures of three sleeping soldiers clad in mail, but the one to the left has lost his head.

N.ee.—THE ASCENSION.

A group of standing figures, all now headless. The Apostles have bare feet, but a prominent figure in front, with the feet covered by a long gown, probably represents Our Lady. At least nine figures are visible.



S.5



S.31



S.7

WELLS IMAGERY—THREE BISHOPS FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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IV.—IMAGES OF THE UPPER TIER.

- S.1.—KING SOLOMON. King with long wavy hair and short curly beard, with head turned to right. His crown has a cresting of fleurons and a cap inside. He wears a long under-tunic with tight sleeves, a long sleeveless over-tunic, slit up the front to show the under-dress, and a mantle, which hangs over the left shoulder and is gathered over the left arm. The right hand is broken, but seems to have had the fingers resting upon those of the open left hand. (Plate XXXIV.)
- S.2.—Tall and youthful Queen in long gown girt with a strap, a mantle hanging from the shoulders, and long veil reaching nearly to the knees. Over the veil is a narrow crown of fleurons. The long wavy hair is seen on either side of the face. The gown is slit at the throat and secured by a large round jewelled brooch. The right hand is gone, but held the strap of the mantle. The left arm is broken away at the elbow. Much ochre wash remains on the head and under the arms.
- S.3.—Bishop with short curly beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand is partly gone, but was raised in blessing before the breast; the left held a wooden staff in two pieces fixed, one below, the other above, into a stone socket held in the fingers.
- S.4.—*Missing.*
A block with carved leafwork for the figure to stand on is left.
- S.5.—Bishop, bearded, in mitre and mass vestments. The hands seem to have held before the breast the model of a church with tall steeple. (Plate XL.)
- S.6.—Very tall Lady (8 feet high) in long sleeveless gown reaching to the ankles, and under-dress with tight sleeves which covers the feet. She has also an ample mantle, which is brought round the right side and held by the left hand; while the right hand holds the broad strap that secures it across the breast. The head is enveloped in a chin-band confining the hair, which is seen only behind the ears, and a head-band, and is covered as to the hinder half by a veil which hangs down on each side in front of the body. This singularly beautiful figure, which probably represents a widow lady, is quite perfect except for part of the right hand. Much of the ochre wash is left on the head and under the arms. (Plate XXIX.)
- S.7.—Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand is gloved and raised in blessing in front of the shoulder. The left hand is also raised to the same height, and may have held a staff. Both hands have decayed partly away. (Plate XL.)
- S.8.—*Missing.*
A square standing block with carved leafage is left.

- S.9.—Seated Bishop in mitre and mass vestments with the right hand raised in blessing.
The head and hands and a good deal of this figure date from a modern restoration to repair the injuries sustained by its fall.
- S.10.—Seated King with crown of fleurons, in long tunic girded by a broad strap, and a mantle. The left hand is raised and holds the mantle band. The right hand holds upon the knee an open charter or writing. A very fine and perfect figure.
- S.11.—Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The hands are both raised as in S.7, but have nearly decayed away.
- S.12.—Monk with slight beard, in long gown with ample sleeves, and hood upon head. The hands were upraised as if holding something, but are decayed away. (Plate XLI.)
- S.13.—Bishop with short beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The hands were both upraised as in S.7, but are now decayed away.
- S.14.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) with short beard, in mitre and mass vestments, holding a book in his left hand. The right hand is gone; it probably held a staff. (Plate XLI.)
- S.15.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) with short beard, in mitre and mass vestments. In the left hand was a book, and the right held a staff, but both are almost decayed away.
- S.16.—Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The hands are decayed away, but apparently the right was raised in blessing and the left held a staff.
- S.17.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand is gone, but apparently held a staff. The left hand holds the weathered remains of a book (?).
- S.18.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) with short beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand, now gone, probably held a staff; in the left is a closed book.
- S.19.—Seated Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand is partly gone, but is raised in blessing. The left hand is upraised before the breast and once grasped a staff.
- S.20.—Seated Bishop in mitre and mass vestments, badly decayed. The right hand was probably raised in blessing; the left has perished. The head is turned partly round to the right.
- S.21.—Bishop with moustache and beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand, now partly gone, is raised in blessing. The left was lowered and held a staff.
- S.22.—Abbot (?) in amice, albe, chasuble, and mitre, holding a book in his left hand. The right hand is gone, but evidently held a staff. The upper half of the mitre is lost.
This figure is formed of two stones. (Plate XLII.)
- S.23.—Bishop with moustache and beard, in mitre and mass vestments. Both hands are gone, but the right was raised in blessing and the left held a staff.
- S.24.—Monk with short beard, in long gown with wide sleeves and hood round neck and upon head. The right hand holds a closed book. The left hand also held something but is broken away at the wrist. (Plate XLII.)



S.12



S.13



S.14

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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S.22



S.26



S.24

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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- S.25.—Hermit with long beard, in gown to feet, short tunic to knees, and hood upon the head. Both hands are broken away.
- S.26.—Hermit with long beard, in long gown to feet, scapular coming down to a point in front, and hood on head. Round the waist is a strap or belt from which hangs on the left side a pear-shaped collecting-box (?). The hands seem to have held something in front of the body, but are decayed away. (Plate XLII.)
- S.27.—Hermit with long beard, in long gown to feet and somewhat shorter over-tunic, and hood upon head. The hands are much decayed, but seem to be holding the remains of an open book.
- S.28.—Hermit with straggling beard, in long girded gown, ample mantle closed across the breast, and hood on head. From the left side of the girdle hangs a triangular pouch. The hands held something before the body, but are broken away. (Plate XLI.)
- S.29.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand is raised in blessing. In the left hand is a closed book. (Plate XLIII.)
- S.30.—Bishop with short beard, in mitre and mass vestments. Both hands were upraised, the right as if blessing, the left as if it held a staff, but both have weathered away.
- S.31.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) in mitre and mass vestments. The left hand holds a closed book. The right is gone at the wrist but seems to have been raised in blessing as in the fellow figure (S.29).^a (Plate XL.)
- S.32.—Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The right hand has partly perished, but is raised in blessing. The left hand, which has gone, seems to have held a staff. The top of the mitre is broken off.
- S.33.—Seated Bishop in mitre and mass vestments.
- S.34.—Seated Pope with short beard, in plain conical tiara and mass vestments. The hands were upraised, but both have decayed away, and the upper part of the figure is likewise in bad condition. The fanon which hangs from the left arm is curiously disposed over the left knee.
- S.35.—*Missing.*
- S.36.—Bishop (or mitred Abbot) in mitre and mass vestments. In the left hand is a closed book. The right, which has decayed away, seems to have been raised in blessing.
- S.37.—Much decayed and mutilated figure of a Bishop.
- S.38.—Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The left hand seems to have held a staff, and the right to have been raised in blessing, but both hands are gone, also the top of the mitre, and the figure generally is much decayed.
- S.39.—Much decayed and mutilated figure of a Bishop.
- S.40.—Bishop in mitre and mass vestments, but in bad condition from decay. The left hand perhaps held a staff, and the right may have been raised in blessing.

S.41.—Seated Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments, but much cracked and badly weathered. Both arms were uplifted, but are broken off at the elbow.

S.42.—Seated Bishop in mitre and mass vestments, but so badly weathered that few details can be made out.

N.1.—*QUEEN OF SHEBA*. Young Queen in girded gown showing under-dress at neck, slit at the throat and there held by a lozenge-shaped jewelled brooch. On the head is a much broken crown of fleurons, worn over the veil, from under which appears the long wavy hair. The right arm is broken away at the elbow. The hand may have helped to hold an open book in the left hand, part of which is left. Hanging from the girdle on the left side on a large triangular pouch, a penner, and a globular inkpot. This is almost the only figure in which the breasts are slightly indicated. (Plate XXXIV.)

N.2.—Widow Lady in long under-dress falling in folds about the feet, shorter over-dress, and mantle. She has a chin band and crimped head band, over which is a veil hanging down nearly to the waist. Her long hair is seen under the veil at the neck. The right hand held one end of the veil, but is broken away. The left hand held the mantle strap, but is partly decayed. (Plate XXIX.)

N.3.—? *St. Edwin, K.M.* Bearded King with wavy hair and (broken) crown of fleurons, in long sleeveless tunic and sleeved under-tunic, and mantle hanging down from the right shoulder and over the right arm. The left hand is upraised, as if holding a tall cross or lance, but is broken away at the wrist. In the right hand is the socket for a sceptre.

The feet rest on the shoulders and head of a recumbent knight in mail and long surcoat, with his right hand on his knee, and with his left plunging a dagger into his own throat, probably Eumer, who attempted to assassinate the King. (Plate XXXI.)

N.4.—*St. Alban*. Young Man with incipient beard, and short wavy hair bound by a fillet, in sleeved under-garment, sleeveless tunic, and mantle hanging behind. The hands are gloved. The left grasps the empty scabbard of his sword, which is hung on the left side from a belt crossing the body. The right hand held the drawn sword, but is broken away. (Plate XXIX.)

N.5.—? *St. Edmund, K.M.* King with slight beard and crown of fleurons, in tunic, and sleeveless over-tunic with large armholes, and mantle over shoulders. The left arm, which was raised before the breast, is gone at the elbow. The right arm was lowered, but is also decayed away below the elbow.

The feet rest on the head and back of a crouching man, but his head and the front half are split off and lost.

N.6.—Tall Queen in girded gown with round brooch at the neck. The hair is long and wavy, covered by a veil hanging down nearly to the knees. Over the veil is a mantle hanging from the shoulders. The crown was of fleurons, with small inserted pieces of chalk between to represent jewels. The fleurons are much broken, and the stones quite polished by the feet of birds. The right hand hangs down, and holds the socket for a sceptre. The left hand was raised in front of the breast, but is broken away. (Plate XLIII.)



S.29



N.8



N.6



N.23
? ST. ETHELRED.



N.21
ST. ETHELBERT.

WELLS IMAGERY—MARTYR-KINGS FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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- N.7.—King with slight beard and (broken) crown of fleurons, in belted tunic, slit at throat and there confined by a small round brooch, and mantle. The left hand is much decayed, but held the mantle strap. The right arm hangs down, but is gone at the wrist.
- N.8.—Tall young Queen with wavy hair, crown of fleurons, and veil thrown round the neck. She has a long girded gown and a mantle, the right side of which was upheld by the right hand. The left hand is decayed, but grasped the mantle strap. (Plate XLIII.)
- N.9.—Seated Man with beard and round cap, in belted tunic and mantle, which is brought round over the knees. The right hand is upraised on breast; the left was extended with upraised palm, and below the forearm there are remains of an attachment of something, but it is difficult to suggest what it may have been. (Plate XXVIII.)
- N.10.—Seated King with large nose, short beard, and crown of fleurons, in girded tunic, and mantle thrown round the body and over the knees. The neck opening of the tunic is held by a large round jewelled brooch. The arms are akimbo, and the right hand rests on the right knee. The left hand holds over the left knee an open charter. The right foot is upraised and rests upon a footstool. (Plate LI.)
- N.11.—*ST. KENELM*, K.M. Young and beardless King with crown of fleurons, in belted tunic and mantle hanging from shoulders. The fingers of the left hand are hooked over the mantle strap. The right hand grasps the hilt of an upraised sword, now gone.
Under the feet is a crouching figure of a woman in crown and chin band, with her plaited hair hanging down her back, and an open book before her face. (Plate XXX.)
- N.12.—King with short beard and tall crown of fleurons, in sleeved tunic, sleeveless over-tunic, and mantle. The right hand which was lowered probably held a sword or sceptre, but is decayed away. The left hand held the mantle band.
The feet rest on the recumbent figure of a man in round cap, and naked save for a pair of short drawers.
- N.13.—*ST. EDWARD*, K.M. Young and beardless King with broad face and crown of fleurons, in girded tunic and mantle; the latter hangs down in front from the left shoulder. The right hand holds the socket of a sceptre; the left the foot of a cup.
Under the feet is a crouching figure of a queen with long hair. (Plate XXX.)
- N.14.—Young and beardless Man, bareheaded, with short wavy hair, in long girded tunic and mantle; the latter covers the upper part of the body and is fastened before the breast by two round buttons. The right hand, which was upraised as if holding a long staff or cross, is broken away at the wrist. In the left hand are the remains of a clasped book (?).
- N.15.—? *ST. OSWYN*. King with short curly beard and curly hair and crown of fleurons, in tunic and mantle. The latter is brought round from the left side and flung over the right shoulder and held by the left hand. The right hand was lowered as if holding a sword or sceptre, but is gone.
Under the feet is a headless and decayed recumbent figure of a man. (Plate XXXI.)

N.16.—*Missing.*

N.17.—*St. Oswald, K.M.* King with slight beard and ornate crown, in long loose tunic and mantle. The mantle covers the figure and has a laced opening on the right shoulder. The right arm, which was upraised as if holding a sword or sceptre, is gone at the elbow. The left arm has the mantle gathered over it, and in the hand is a shallow dish.

Under the feet is a greatly decayed recumbent figure. (Plate XXXI.)

N.18.—Warrior in complete mail and short loose surcoat slit up in front. The camail covers the mouth and has the flap fastened up on the left side of the head. Hanging by a strap over the right shoulder is a large plain shield nearly covering the left arm. The right arm hangs down, but the hand has perished. Crossing the body is the sword belt, but the sword is not shown; it may have been partly behind, and held by the left hand under the shield.

N.19.—Seated King with slight beard and crown of fleurons, in belted tunic and mantle, which is brought round over the knees. The right hand was upraised, but is broken off at the wrist. The left hand rests on the knee. The face is in a state of decay.

N.20.—Seated King, badly decayed and fractured.

N.21.—*St. Ethelbert, K.M.* King with slight beard and ornate crown, in belted tunic and mantle. The left half of the mantle hangs down in front of the left shoulder; the right half is brought across the body and flung over the left arm. Both hands are gone; the right may have held a sceptre.

Under the feet is a recumbent figure of a woman with long hair and a round cap and long loose gown. The King has his feet upon her head and knees. (Plate XLIV.)

The King's head shows plainly the ochre ground tint, and traces of red on the lips.

N.22.—? *St. George, M.* Warrior in mail and short sleeveless surcoat, slit up in front, with flat topped helmet upon the head. The right hand, which grasped a spear or pennon, is broken away at the wrist; but a hole for the butt of the shaft may be seen by the right foot. The left hand holds a plain pointed shield, which covers the arm and has a strap for suspension round the neck. From under the shield also hangs the sword, from a belt encircling the body. (Plate XLV.)

N.23.—King with beard, wavy hair, and high open crown, in loose tunic and mantle. The latter is brought round on the left and thrown over the arm, and on the other side is grasped by the lowered right hand.

Under the feet is a recumbent figure of a man (now headless) with his hands tied together at the wrists. (Plate XLIV.)

The head of this image shows plainly the ochre coating. The lips have also traces of red colouring and there are remains of black on the eyebrows and beard.

N.24.—*St. Thomas of Canterbury.*—Bishop in mass vestments, but no tunic, with the top of the head cut clean off above the eyebrows and held in front of the breast with both hands. (Plate XXVII.)



N.25



N.22
? ST. GEORGE.



N.26

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N.47



N.45



N.43

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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N.25.—Queen-Abbess in long loose gown with surplice sleeves, mantle, chin band, veil, and high open crown. The long hair shows under the veil. The left hand has the fingers hooked over the mantle band; the right holds a closed book. (Plate XLV.)

N.26.—Tall young Queen in girded gown with round brooch at the neck, and mantle. The hair is long and wavy, but covered by the veil, both ends of which hang down to below the waist. Over the veil is a crown of fleurons. The fingers of the right hand seem to have rested upon the palm of the left, but the latter is broken away. (Plate XLV.)

N.27.—Queen-Abbess with high crown, in loose gown with ample sleeves, mantle, chin band, and veil. The tight sleeves of an under-dress show at the forearm. Both hands are broken away. The right seems to have held the mantle band. The left was raised as if carrying something, probably a book.

N.28.—Tall Queen with long wavy hair covered by a veil over which is a crown of fleurons (mutilated); the ends of the veil are thrown round the neck. She wears a long girded gown and mantle. The hands have decayed away; the right may have held a sceptre; the left was raised up to the breast.

The whole figure is badly weathered.

N.29.—Beardless young Man with wavy hair and round cap, in belted tunic and mantle. In the right hand he held a sceptre or staff. The left hand plays with the pendent end of the belt.

He stands upon a prostrate figure in a long gown, who is clinging to his left ankle.

N.30.—? ST. AMPHIBALUS, M. Priest with short beard, in mass vestments. The hands have gone. The left was raised and perhaps held something in front of the body; the right was held out as if it also carried some object.

N.31.—Youth with slight beard, wavy hair, and round cap, in loose tunic and mantle. Both hands are decayed away. The left seems to have held something against the side, the right to have grasped the mantle. The face is partly decayed away.

He stands upon a crouching figure of a man in loose gown and round cap.

N.32.—? ST. ELPHEGE, M.—Bishop with slight beard, in mitre and mass vestments. The hands seem to have been outstretched as if carrying something, but are decayed away.

He does not appear to have held a crosier.

N.33.—Seated King in tunic and mantle, which is brought across the body and thrown over the left arm. The right arm has the sleeve rolled up to the elbow, leaving the forearm bare, and showing a band round the wrist; the right hand rests on the knee. The left hand is raised to hold the mantle band.

The head is modern, and the figure altogether is a poor one.

N.34.—Seated Bishop, bearded, and in mass vestments. The hands are gone, and there was not a crosier.

This figure is badly decayed, especially as to the face.

N.35.—Young Queen in girded gown and mantle. She wears a high crown over her veil, which shows her long wavy hair beneath, and hangs down to her girdle. The left arm is gone, but the hand evidently held the mantle band. The right arm is lowered, but the hand, which may have held a sceptre, is gone.

N.36.—Man in round cap with short beard and short curly hair. He wears a long girded gown, and over it a mantle fastened on the left shoulder and so slewed round as to hang with a point over the feet. Encircling the neck is a broad flat ring resting on the shoulders. The left hand is upraised and once held a staff or long cross. In the right is the hilt of a sword.

Under the feet is the squirming figure of a man in a long loose gown. (Plate XXX.)

N.37.—Warrior in complete mail, and sleeveless surcoat to the knees. The camail covers the mouth and is fastened up behind the left ear with a strap which runs through the mail over the face. The right arm was upraised as if holding a spear or banner, but is gone at the shoulder. The left arm hangs down, but the hand, which seems to have held the sheathed sword, is gone. Part of the sword belt shows on the right side, but not on the left.

N.38.—Man with wavy hair and round cap in girded gown and mantle. The hands were raised as if they held something, but both arms are broken off at the elbow.

This is the figure which fell in 1902. The fragments of it have been pieced together and the figure replaced in its niche, without any unwise attempt to restore it.

N.39.—Warrior in complete mail, with loose surcoat to knee and slit up front. The head is covered by a flat topped helmet. The right arm, which was lowered, has decayed away at the elbow. The left arm is covered by a large and plain pointed shield from under which hangs the sword by a belt encircling the body.

The figure is badly decayed.

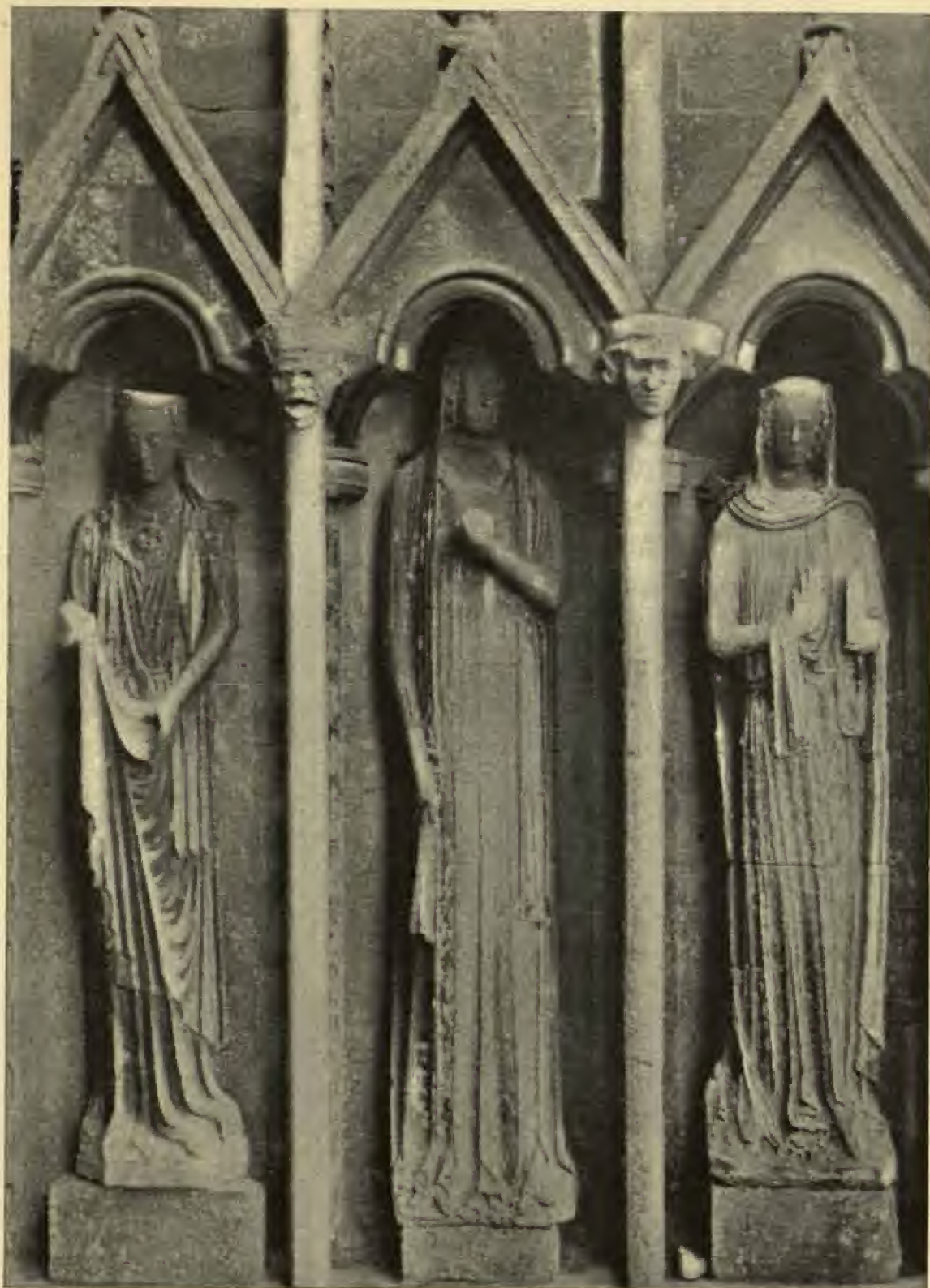
N.40.—*Missing.*

N.41.—Seated Man with beard and round cap, in belted tunic and mantle hanging behind and brought round over the left knee. The right leg is bent up and placed upon the left knee and there held by the left hand. In the right hand was a staff or sceptre.

N. 42.—Standing figure of a Pope in plain conical tiara and mass vestments. In the left hand is a book. The right hand is lowered and it is doubtful whether it held anything.

N.43.—Man with slight beard and round cap, in long belted tunic, and mantle, which hangs over the shoulders and is gathered over the right arm. The mantle has no cord or band to keep it in place. The right hand is laid open on the breast; the left, which seems to have held something just below the waist, is broken off. The head of this figure is turned partly round towards the left. (Plate XLVI.)

N.44.—Young Queen, with long wavy hair showing beneath her veil. She is clad in a long girded gown and a mantle, which is gathered up and hangs over the left arm. The left end of the veil hangs down and is gathered over the right wrist; the other end is



N.48

N.46

N.44

WELLS IMAGERY—GROUP OF THREE FEMALE FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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N.55

N.53



N.51

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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thrown across the neck and over the left shoulder. In the left hand is a closed book; the right is held open on the breast.

This image is formed of two stones. (Plate XLVII.)

- N.45.—Man with short beard, wavy hair, and broad fillet (or cap) round head, in belted tunic and mantle. The tunic is slit up the front and held open with the right hand to show the right leg. This is covered to the foot, as is the other leg, by a lap-over legging or boot, but the knee is covered by a flap with embattled lower edge, apparently suspended by cords from the waist. The left arm is raised and a projecting piece on the breast shows that the hand held up something, but the hand is broken off at the wrist. (Plate XLVI.)
- N.46.—Unusually tall Lady in loose gown and mantle. She has long wavy hair confined by a head band, over which is the veil. This hangs down on each side nearly to the knees. The fingers of the left hand hold the band of the mantle; the right hangs down and grasps one end of the veil. (Plate XLVII.)
- N.47.—King with short beard and high crown, in belted tunic and mantle. The mantle hangs over the shoulders, and the right side of it is brought across the body and there held by the left hand. The right hand is broken, but was apparently held up, palm outwards, in front of the breast. (Plate XLVI.)
- N.48.—Young Lady in girded gown, open at the neck and there fastened by a large round brooch, and mantle, the left side of which is brought round and held up by both hands in front. Upon the head is a veil secured by a band or fillet, and hanging down below the waist. The right hand is partly decayed away. (Plate XLVII.)
- N.49.—Queen in girded gown, with round brooch at neck, mantle, and veil, which hangs down from under her crown, showing her long wavy hair beneath. The crown is much damaged. The right hand was raised breast high, but is broken off at the wrist. The left hand hangs down and grasps the border of the mantle.
- N.50.—*Missing.*
- N.51.—King with short beard, curly hair, and crown of fleurons, in a girded tunic and mantle. The mantle is gathered up, and hangs over the right arm. The right hand holds the pendent end of the belt; the left grasps the mantle strap. (Plate XLVIII.)
- N.52.—*Missing.*
- N.53.—King with short beard and wavy hair, and a crown of fleurons, in long girded tunic, slit at the neck, and mantle. The right hand grasps the strap of the mantle; the left the belt of the tunic. (Plate XLVIII.)
- N.54.—? ST. ETHELBURGA OF BARKING. Unusually tall Lady in long ungirt robe with tight sleeves, mantle, and veil, beneath which is seen the long wavy hair. The robe has an opening at the neck, clasped by a large round brooch. The veil has the right side hanging before the body down to just below the waist, but the left side is brought across the bosom and thrown carelessly over the right shoulder. The mantle hangs straight

down from the right shoulder, but covers the left shoulder and is gathered over the left hand. On this rests a closed book, which is held in place by the right hand.

A singularly beautiful and perfect figure, of great dignity. (Plate XLIX.)

N.55.—Beardless King with short wavy hair, in long girded tunic and large mantle, and a crown of large and small fleurons. Both hands grasp the mantle, which is brought round from the right and flung over the left shoulder. (Plate XLVIII.)

N.56.—? ST. ECKENWALD. Bishop in mitre and mass vestments, holding in his left hand a (mutilated) book. The right arm is upraised as if it held a crosier, but the hand has been broken away at the wrist. (Plate XLIX.)

N.57.—Seated King with short curly hair and beard, and a crown of eight fleurons alternately large and small, with his arms akimbo and his hands resting on his knees. He is clad in a girded tunic with tight sleeves, with an under-dress showing at the feet, and a mantle which hangs from the shoulders and is brought round over the knees. (Plate XXVIII.)

N.58.—Seated Pope in mass vestments, with plain conical tiara. The right hand, which was raised before the breast, is gone, and the left, which was lowered towards the left knee, is also lost.

N.59.—Man with short beard and short curly hair, wearing a round cap, a long girded tunic with tight sleeves over a longer under-dress, and mantle. The right hand is broken away, but held the strap of the mantle. The left arm is bent but broken off short just above the wrist; in the broken end an iron stump is leaded in.

N.60.—Beardless Warrior in padded cap with ear flaps fastened under the chin, with blobs below the ears. The arms are covered with some loosish material, without any trace of mail, and the legs and feet with the like stuff, but fitting closely. The body is covered by a long sleeveless surcoat reaching below the knees, and slit up the front. On the ankles are seen the straps of the spurs. The left hand rests on the hilt of the sword, which is hung from a narrow belt passing round the body, and covered by a small round target with broad central boss. The right arm is uplifted as if holding a banner or spear, but is broken off just above the wrist. An iron stump shows an attempt at repair. (Plate L.)

N.61.—King, now headless, in long girded tunic and mantle; the mantle hangs over the shoulders and is gathered up to hang over each arm. On the feet are boots. The left hand grasps the strap of the mantle; the right holds the socket of a sceptre.

N.62.—Warrior with short beard, in cap with rolled brim and ear-flaps tied under chin. The arms and legs are shown covered with some tightly fitting material, perhaps leather, without any trace of mail, and the body is covered by a thick and stiff sleeveless surcoat, slit up the front and reaching to the knees. Upon the left arm is a long pointed shield, under which appears the sword, slung from a narrow belt round the waist. The right arm is upraised as if it held a spear, but the hand is broken away at the wrist. On the ankles are spurs. (Plate L.)



N.56
? ST ERKENWALD.

N.54
? ST. ETHELBURGA of Barking.



N.74

WELLS IMAGERY—FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1904.



N.66

N.64



N.62

N.60

WELLS IMAGERY—WARRIORS FROM THE UPPER TIER.

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- N.63.—Queen in long girded gown, and mantle hanging from shoulders, with flowing hair covered by a veil, over which is a crown of fleurons. The slight opening of the gown at the neck is secured by a small round brooch. The right hand hangs down and once held a sceptre. The left hand holds the pendent end of the girdle strap.
- N.64.—Warrior in complete mail, with stiff sleeveless surcoat with stiffened lower edge. The camail covers the mouth, and over it is drawn a cap, with a broad rolled brim round the head. Round the neck is a deep collar, laced across in front. Both cap and collar were evidently actually of leather. On the ankles are spurs. The knight holds in front of him a large shield, now quite plain. (Plate L.)
- N.65.—Lady with long flowing hair, in long girded gown, and mantle held by a strap or band across the breast. Upon the head is a short veil, and over it a plain round cap. The right hand hangs down and holds up the front edge of the mantle. The left hand is uplifted and has the forefinger hooked over the band of the mantle. The mantle itself is gathered up on the left side and hangs over the left arm.
- N.66.—Warrior in complete mail, with stiff sleeveless surcoat to knees. On his head is a flat-topped helm, with eyeslit and breathing holes. The right hand, which hung down as if holding something, is broken off at the forearm. The left hand rests open against the top of a very pointed shield, with central boss, which hangs in front of the left leg by a strap passing round the waist. The rivets of the helm are all shown with the utmost care. (Plate L.)
- N.67.—Seated King with slight beard and short wavy hair, in girt tunic and mantle, and with a crown of fleurons upon the head. The left hand is bare and rests on the knee. The right also rests on the knee, but holds the hollow socket for a rod or sceptre.
- N.68.—Seated Priest in mass vestments. The left hand was upraised, but is broken off at the wrist. The right hand rests in his lap.
- N.69.—*No figure* (at any time).
- N.70.—*No figure* (at any time).
- N.71.—*No figure* (at any time).
- N.72.—*No figure* (at any time).
- N.73.—*Missing*.
- N.74.—Tall Lady in long gown girded by a strap and covering the feet, and ample mantle brought round under the left arm and gathered over the raised right arm, which has lost the hand. The left arm hangs down and the fingers hold one of the folds of the mantle. The lady's long hair is covered by a veil hanging over the shoulders down to the breast and confined by a fillet or round cap.
This figure is formed of two stones. (Plate XLIX.)
- N.75.—King with wavy hair and short beard, with a crown of fleurons, now broken. He is clad in an under-garment to feet, with tight sleeves, and long loose sleeveless upper-

garment. Over the shoulders is a mantle which hangs straight down over the left arm, but is gathered up and hangs over the right arm. The right hand is upraised. The left is broken away at the wrist. (Plate LI.)

N.76.—*St. EUSTACE.* Man bareheaded and with short wavy hair, in loose tunic to knees, girt at the waist and open at the neck, showing an under-garment; he is also bare-legged, and standing in water knee deep. On each arm he carries a child dressed in a long loose robe. Both children are mutilated. Each had a hand on the man's shoulder. (Plate XXVII.)

N.77.—*Seated Man* bareheaded with short curly hair, with face turned slightly to left, sitting on a seat. He wears a long loose gown, partly open at the neck, and girded with a strap, and a mantle hanging from the shoulders and brought round over the left leg. The right arm was upraised, but is broken away at the elbow. The left hand rests against the left leg.

Owing to the position of this figure above the slope of the aisle roof, the right leg is raised much higher than the other on account of the shape of the niche in which the figure stands. (Plate LI.)

N.78.—? *St. THEOPISTIS.* Slender Lady in long gown, shorter ungirded over dress, mantle, and short veil. The mantle hangs over both shoulders and is gathered up over the right arm, the hand of which grasps its band. The left arm and hand are under the mantle. This figure is carved on two stones, the joint being across the breast. (Plate XXVII.)



N.77

N.75



N.10

WELLS IMAGERY-FIGURES FROM THE UPPER TIER.

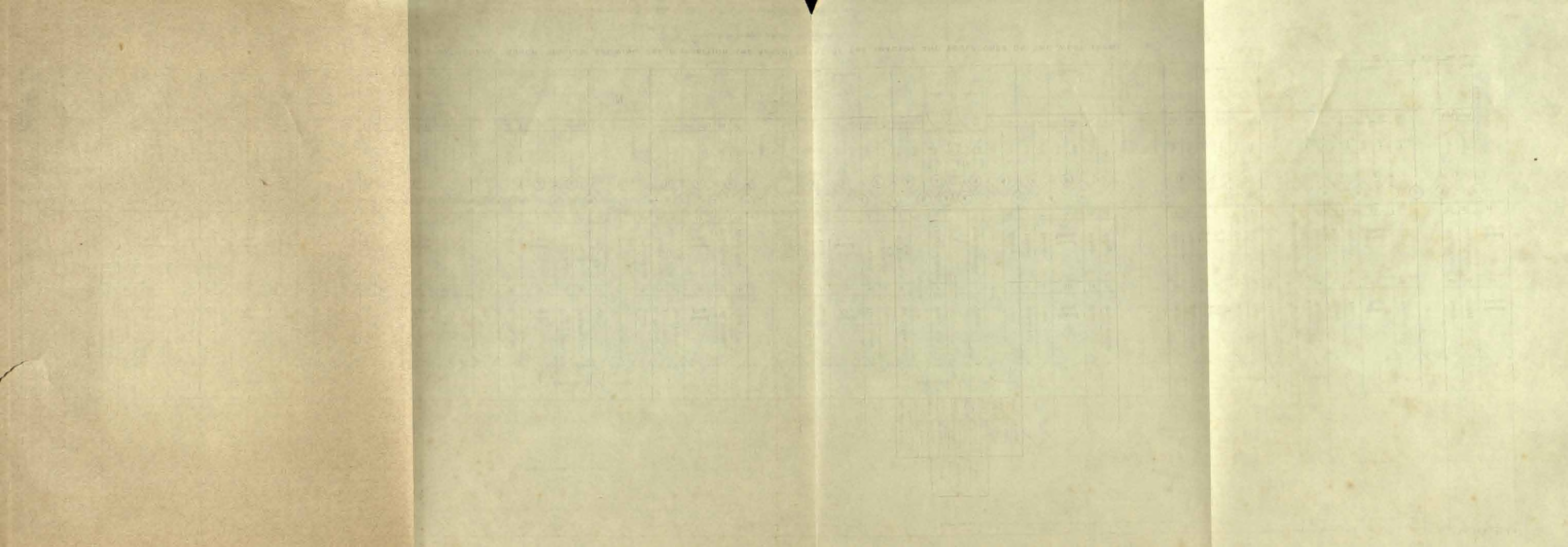
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WELLS CATHEDRAL CHURCH.—DIAGRAM SHOWING THE DISPOSITION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE IMAGERY AND SCULPTURES ON THE WEST FRONT.

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